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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-87-038

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### **Grossu Speech to Procuracy Collegium**

18000801a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 25 Jul 87 p 2

[Speech by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, at the 24 July 1987 expanded meeting of the MSSR Procuracy Collegium: "Strengthening Legality and Legal Order"]

[Text] The results of work by organs of the republic procuracy in the first half-year and their tasks to further strengthen socialist legality and legal order and bolster the protection of citizens' lawful rights and interests were reviewed at an expanded meeting of the MSSR Procuracy Collegium on 24 July.

MSSR Procurator N. K. Demidenko, who presented the report, and the other speakers noted that the positive changes that are taking place in society demand that we refine legislation, strengthen legality and legal order, and ensure reliable protection for the rights and lawful interests of Soviet citizens while strictly observing the principles of socialist justice. This process should be inseparably linked with strengthening discipline and order. Democracy and discipline do not contradict one another; they are mutually reinforcing. Without strong discipline there can be no true democracy or firm guarantee of the exercise of citizens' political, social, and other rights.

The procuracy organs today should determinedly put an end to instances of prejudice, a tendentious approach during preliminary and pretrial investigations and the court hearing, red tape, a dry, unfeeling attitude, and indifference to people's fates. Cases of unfounded detention and arrest and unlawfully bringing criminal charges against citizens must be completely eliminated from the working practice of criminal law organs.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party S. K. Grossu spoke at the meeting.

Chairman of the MSSR State Security Committee G. M. Volkov took part in the work of the meeting.

### **From the Speech by S. K. Grossu**

Comrades! The materials of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee are now the focus of attention for Soviet people. They are being discussed at meetings of communists, where concrete steps to realize a fundamental restructuring of the economy are being worked out applicable to each labor collective. The Plenum reviewed questions of exceptional importance for practical implementation of the party's strategic course, as developed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The Plenum ratified the document "Basic Principles of Fundamental Restructuring of Management of the Economy," approved the draft USSR Law on the State

Enterprise (Association), and formulated a "package" of constructive ideas related to restructuring the activity of economic management organs at all levels.

The decisions of the Plenum hold fundamental, enormous importance for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. They are finding full approval and support among the communists and working people of the republic and call forth in each of us a desire to multiply our efforts aimed at restructuring the work and obtaining good national economic results.

We are living in a truly revolutionary time. The process of renewal encompasses a broad range of problems in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres of our life. Democratic principles in managing production are gaining strength in the republic, administrative, pressure-type methods of management are being overcome, and the human factor is becoming more active in the restructuring cause.

All this has a positive impact on economic results too. In the first half of 1987 the growth rate of industrial output was 8.6 percent and labor productivity rose 8.5 percent, which is higher than the plan assignment. The plans for sale of livestock raising output to the state were overfulfilled. Positive changes were observed in the social sphere as well.

Nonetheless, as already noted at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, the mechanism of retardation has not been broken and the steps being carried out are moving slowly and do not meet the level of party demands or the scale and severity of accumulated problems. The plenum gave a strict party evaluation of continuing stagnation phenomena and actually named those who are moving slowly in restructuring.

It must be observed once again that the political significance of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee lies in the fact, as Comrade M. S. Gorbachev stressed in his closing statement, "that it translates the ideas of restructuring to the practical plane. And this means in the crucial social sphere, the economic, which involves the basic foundations of the people's life." We must do everything possible in the spirit of the decisions adopted to see that every element of economic management and every labor collective operates in a determined, vigorous manner and that this produces concrete practical results.

The political decisions of the Plenum were converted to the language of law at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The organizational aspect of the planned transformations includes a broad program of legislative activity, formulating the legal mechanism of the economic reform. The approach, as defined by the June Plenum, is clear: ambiguities as to the legality of particular actions

in the economic management sphere should be completely eliminated. The general legal principle that "Everything that is not prohibited by law is permitted" should apply more broadly.

This proposition in no way means weakening compliance with Soviet laws. On the contrary, as stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, the policy of accelerating socioeconomic development, democratizing all aspects of social life, and restructuring the economic mechanism is inseparable from strengthening legality and legal order and improving discipline and organization.

Procuracy organs must do a great deal of work toward correct application of the new USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) in the local areas. This will be the forward edge of the struggle for restructuring of the entire economic mechanism.

Under conditions of democratization and openness [glasnost] it will be incorrect to use the law as a club, to frighten management cadres with it. At the same time, preventive work by procuracy organs should fully ensure the inevitability of punishment for people who violate state discipline in production and deviate from the law and official instructions.

Many instances of violation of delivery discipline continue to occur in republic industry. In the first half-year the number of enterprises that did not fulfill contract obligations increased by almost 1.5 times compared to the corresponding period of last year. The sum of undelivered output increased from 16 million rubles to 44 million. State Arbitration organs penalized Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] enterprises almost 3.5 million rubles in 1987, while the Ministry of Light Industry was charged 628,000 rubles, the Ministry of Local Industry 216,000, and so on.

It should be added to this that the number of cases of economic sanctions for production of poor-quality output almost doubled (104 cases compared to 68 in the same period last year) and the sum of profit withdrawn to state income for this reason was almost 511,000 rubles.

How are the procuracy organs responding to these facts? In the first half-year there were just 23 audits of fulfillment of the law on delivery of output, and only 30 cases were started. Not a single criminal case was sent to court for producing defective output. This attitude by procuracy organs to strengthening state discipline should be changed decisively.

We cannot ignore the fact that on 1 January 1987, under conditions of acceleration of economic development, enterprises and organizations of the republic had 113 million rubles worth of uninstalled equipment on hand, including 31 million rubles in imported equipment.

Moreover, almost 90 million rubles worth of progressive equipment, almost one-third of it imported, had been installed but not put into operation.

That is a graphic example of the process of retardation, of stagnation in the republic economy. Meanwhile procuracy supervision is idle, stands aside from these cases, and the persons who permit this go unpunished.

The January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expressed harsh criticism of the Moldavian party organization, which was among those who have not waged a determined struggle against slackening of discipline, false reporting, and deception. A good deal of work has been done in the republic recently to root out such negative phenomena and a broad front of struggle has been opened up against cases of deceiving the state, putting up false fronts, and distorting reports. Unfortunately, however, these phenomena have not been completely eliminated.

In the first half-year the MSSR Central Statistical Administration identified cases of false reports and cover-ups in 32 cities and rayons of the republic. The proportion of false reports in January-July in the enterprises of the Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transportation remained at the level of January-October 1986 (14.3 percent). The level is also high in the sectors of material-technical supply and the systems of Grigoriopolskiy, Yedinetskiy, Drokiyevskiy, Chimishliyskiy, and Sorokskiy rayons.

Such examples testify to a relaxation of the struggle against false and distorted reports, to complacency in procuracy supervision. In the first half of 1986, in other words up to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, criminal charges were brought against 15 people, but this year it is eight. What kind of procuracy supervision can we speak of if almost one-third of the procuracy offices did not make a single check on compliance with the law in this matter. As a result false reports are not identified by the preventive work of the procuracy, but usually following warnings from citizens. This situation is intolerable.

The procuracy organs of the republic have not restructured their work with due regard for the new demands, are not always correctly oriented in the situation, and still have not learned to work in conditions of socialist entrepreneurship; this often retards the development of the processes that are occurring, mainly in the economic sphere.

In June the CPSU Central Committee adopted the decree "Measures to Increase the Role of Procuracy Supervision in Strengthening Socialist Legality and Legal Order." A corresponding decree was also adopted at the Buro of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party. It gives an objective evaluation of the activity of republic procuracy organs. It notes that a



superficial attitude toward supervising precise and uniform execution of the laws is often observed in the work of the apparatus of the MSSR Procuracy and city and rayon procuracy offices. Certain types of law remain outside procuracy supervision for long times. The work done is not always thoroughly analyzed, preventive measures that are taken are not effective enough, and work begun is not always carried to its logical conclusion. In reviewing certain materials some employees appear unobjective and biased, do not admit or correct their own mistakes, and defend "the honor of the uniform."

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party does not diminish the positive changes that have occurred recently in procuracy organs. But if we compare the results of your labor with the real operational situation, with the demands which face the republic today, we must say frankly that very little is being done. That is why we cannot be satisfied with the work you are doing. You cannot allow costs and mistakes in your activity. Each one of them means not only a loss of authority for procuracy organs but also a loss of faith in the justice of Soviet law among the people.

In the first 6 months of this year 17 citizens were wrongly charged with crimes, and their cases were dismissed for lack of an event and the elements of a crime. In this same time 14 people were acquitted. For violations of legality causing infringement of citizens' rights A. I. Filinkov, procurator of Sovetskiy Rayon, P. G. Bachu, procurator of Suvorovskiy Rayon, and P. N. Melnik, procurator of Kriulyanskiy Rayon were held to strict disciplinary accountability. Kagulskiy interrayon procurator A. M. Klimenko and Kishinev transport procurator A. A. Kardanyuk were removed from their positions. Various other procuracy employees were punished on a party and disciplinary basis. Each case of flagrant violation of the law must be viewed as an exceptional case; it must be strictly evaluated and effective steps taken to prevent similar mistakes.

Serious attention must also be given to the following facts from the practice of procuracy organs. In the first half-year 12.6 percent of the total number of cases sent to the court were returned to procuracy investigators for additional investigation. In the same 6 months of the previous year this indicator was half as much. The investigation period was violated in one case out of five. There were flagrant violations of socialist legality in the investigation process. Suffice it to say that during the half-year seven people were illegally arrested, five with the sanction of the procurator and two with court sanction. Serious conclusions must be drawn from this.

The local procuracies still have not been able to eliminate such disgraceful practices by internal affairs organs as concealing crimes from recordkeeping. In just the half-year an additional 287 crimes for which militia employees adopted illegal decisions were added to the

records. This is open deception and a flagrant violation of citizens' rights and the principle of inevitability of punishment for commission of a crime.

The cadres of criminal law organs have been confronted with the task of studying hard to learn to work under conditions of expanded democracy and openness, relying on people's trust and support. We must use new ways to evaluate cadres, their level of professional skill, political maturity, principles, and most importantly, ability to perform their assigned missions correctly under the new conditions. We must fight determinedly against those who try to create an atmosphere of well-being and complacency, who exercise their rights to the fullest but sometimes forget their duties. Certain employees of procuracy organs do not know the things their city or rayon lives by and what the situation is in the labor collectives; they consider reviewing complaints and constant contacts with people as interference with their primary work.

The procurators of Tiraspol, Kagul, and Kalarashkiy, Kamenskiy, Kaushanskiy, Kotovski, Kriulyanskiy, Lazovski, and other rayons did not conduct a single inspection of the law on review of complaints in the first half-year. Ryshkanskiy Rayon procurator I. D. Karagayur received a total of 30 people in 6 months; in other words, he really cut himself off from people.

The collegium of the republic procuracy must make rigorous demands of the employees who engage in flattery and try to use average indicators to conceal critical problems. It must always be remembered that the carelessness of criminal law organs led to tragic results in the town of Kruglik in Kriulyanskiy Rayon. The activity of each procuracy employee and his ability to defend the interests of both the state and of individual citizens in practice must be evaluated through the prism of this event and other procuracy errors. We must correctly follow the line of party cadre policy in procuracy organs and place cadres with an eye to their work and political qualities.

I assume that many of you read O. Chaykovskaya's article "Secrets of the Investigation" in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* for 15 July. It reveals the shadowy sides of the investigation, which are very important for a person's fate, health, and dignity, and emphasizes that it is simply not possible today to get away with the phrases "legal" or "illegal." We recommend that the article be discussed in the collectives of procuracy organs and that they draw the necessary conclusions for themselves. It is important to be aware that the law must be applied not only to restore justice and punish the guilty but also for the purpose of indoctrinating people, including those who are condemned by the law.

Let me quote the admission of one convict who is serving a probationary sentence with mandatory labor. "There is no labor organization. I barely earn enough to eat. But the most terrible thing is after work. From 1700 to 2200

there is simply nothing to do. No newspapers, no television. Militia workers make fun of us. No activities are conducted on Saturdays and Sundays. That is how I am being re-indoctrinated. I do not consider myself ruined, even though I did cause an accident." Internal affairs organs must straighten out this matter. And procuracy employees must step up their supervision of the execution of corrective labor law in order to root out such messes, which distort the very essence of criminal punishment.

Taking account of existing shortcomings and heightened demands we must fundamentally restructure the work of the MSSR Procuracy and its collegium and the procuracy organs in the local areas and ensure a decisive improvement in the style, forms, and methods of their activities. The procuracy should stand firmly on guard over Soviet laws in all cases where there is a question of protecting the interests of the state and the rights of working people. It should work with initiative and principle, determinedly, wage a more vigorous struggle against crime and legal offenders, and intensify the preventive orientation of procuracy supervision. Its organs should make maximum use of the legal levers at their disposal to successfully perform the tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development, expanding socialist democracy, and increasing the activism of Soviet people as much as possible in the struggle against everything that hinders the forward movement of our society. They must carry on their activity in conditions of expanding openness, rely on labor collectives and the public, and protect Soviet laws and the rules and norms of the socialist way of life more determinedly.

The party demands that restructuring take place at every workplace, in every labor collective. And to restructure means above all to increase accountability for the assigned job and to create an atmosphere of mutual high standards and firm discipline and organization everywhere. We must intensify monitoring of performance and improve the means of procuracy response and influence and its forms and methods of labor so that it promotes better work. And the procurators themselves must set an example of self-control, discipline, and competence. All procuracy employees must learn to work in the new conditions and strive consistently and persistently for real results, for a lasting consolidation of legality and legal order.

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**Sokolov Speech at July 87 CPB Party Plenum**  
*Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian*  
26 Jul 87 pp 1-3

[Speech by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 7th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum, held 25 July 1987 in Minsk: "Results of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organizations in the Fundamental Restructuring of the Management of the Economy"]

[Text] Respected Comrades! The June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has truly historic significance. Its decisions substantially extend the party's strategic line aimed at acceleration and restructuring, and they make it possible to develop that line on a new political, ideological, moral, economic and legal basis.

The report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other plenum documents are based on a comprehensive analysis of the processes taking place in society and on the multi-faceted experience of socialist creation; they creatively enrich Marxist-Leninist theory with regard to the present stage in the country's development and include those components of the activities by the party, soviet and economic organs, as well as by labor collectives, on which success in overcoming stagnant phenomena and creating a reliable and effective mechanism of acceleration depends to a decisive degree.

The plenum worked out the fundamental concepts of an integral and flexible system for the management of the economy, a system which is called upon to exert a revolutionizing influence on all aspects of the life of the Soviet people, to reveal most fully the creative potential of socialism and to give a powerful new impetus to the progress of our state. The essence of this system lies in the transition from administrative to primarily economic methods of leadership, in the broad democratization of management, in the maximum stimulation of the human factor, in the re-orientation of the country's economy from intermediate to socially significant end results, in the elimination of frequent shortages and in the allocation of priority to the consumer in economic relations.

The republic's working people, like all the Soviet people, greeted with warm approval the plenum results, which represented the further development of the strategic course of the April (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as a direct continuation of the cause of Great October. **I. The Course of Restructuring and the Urgent Tasks for Communists and for All the Working People of the Republic**

Comrades! The plenum emphasized that the restructuring, which is being implemented at the initiative of the party and under its leadership, has sustained an ideological and moral victory; it has penetrated both widely and deeply. And in our republic, too, it is gathering strength.

Speaking briefly, what are its first political results?

In the **economic area** these are the more dynamic development of the economy and the people's changing attitude toward work and the fulfillment of production obligations. The working people are supporting with deeds the party line aimed at acceleration, at radical reform in the management of the economy, and at qualitative changes in the system of the economic mechanism.

In the **social sphere** this is the shift of our personnel to the work of resolving the entire complex of questions related to improving people's living conditions. The attitude toward these problems comes to the forefront when evaluating leaders at every level.

In the **spiritual sphere** this is the working people's growing interest in the history, the present and the future of our country, in the aesthetic and cultural values of socialism, and in philosophical and moral-ethical problems.

In the **political area** this is the growing interest of the Soviet people in everything that is taking place in our society and in one's own collective; this is the intensifying process of the democratization of all aspects of life, the development of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and the stepped up struggle against negative phenomena.

The changes taking place are having a favorable effect on the development of the economy. In the first six months the volume of industrial production grew 6.4 percent, labor productivity increased 6.1 percent, meat purchases increased 11 percent and milk purchases 12 percent. This is higher than planned. The introduction of fixed capital increased by 34 percent, including 52 percent for social-cultural facilities, 47 percent for housing, and 12 percent for the volume of consumer services. Consumer goods worth 343.6 million rubles in excess of plan targets were manufactured.

But today it is correct to pose the question: has everything been done, have we achieved the necessary work increase in all sectors? The answer is unambiguous: no, not everywhere. The inadequacies in the implementation of restructuring which were noted by the CPSU Central Committee plenum also apply in full measure to our republic.

Based on the results of the first six months, every 11th enterprise violated contract discipline. Moreover, production associations and plants in the Gomel, Brest and Vitebsk oblasts, and in the cities of Minsk, Lida, Pinsk and Orsha, as well as BSSR Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry], failed to deliver output.

The expected improvements in the technical level and quality of products have not materialized. The industry of Brest Oblast in general and 24 enterprises in other oblasts did not fulfill the production plans for output in the highest category.

As before, not all kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's are utilizing fully the opportunities to increase production and purchases of agricultural output. The Chashinskiy and Krichenskiy rayons did not meet their targets for livestock and poultry purchases; the Miorskiy, Sharkovshchinskiy, Lelchitskiy, Shchuchinskiy, Borisovski and Logoyiski rayons reduced the amount of these products which they sold to the state in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

The plan for the introduction of fixed capital was only 95 percent fulfilled, the limits for capital investment and construction-installation work were not reached. The blame for this lies primarily with BSSR Minstroy (Ministry of Construction) (Comrade Bril, minister), who did not ensure the fulfillment of the program for contract work, as well as with Comrade Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers, and Comrade Kolokov, secretary of the CPB (Communist Party of Belorussia) Central Committee.

The volume of retail trade turnover increased by 4.3 percent; however, the target for this indicator in the first six months was not met. The shortfall exceeded 14 million 500 thousand rubles. Only Gomel Oblast reached the plan targets. Mintorg [Ministry of Commerce] and Belkoopsoyuz [BSSR Union of Consumer Societies] did not fulfill their plans.

A number of other indicators for work in the first six months can be cited. But I think this is enough to draw the conclusion that the restructuring is taking place slowly and unevenly and that many people have not been effected by it at all.

Our most important task is to implement the decisions of the June plenum more rapidly, to shift the center of gravity to the painstaking, goal-oriented organizational and ideological-political work in labor collectives, and to increase in every way possible the pace at which the changes are being made.

Today the problem is this: now, when the conditions have been created for restructuring and acceleration, everyone must work to achieve visible, practical results in the sphere of his own activities.

As you know, the plenum singled out the job of providing the people with food, housing, consumer goods and services as being among the highest priority tasks. Let us look at the situation in our republic and what must be done to speed up the resolution of these vitally important problems.

I shall begin with the food problem. The entire complex of problems related to increasing agricultural output and the prospects for the development of the republic's agro-industrial sector will be thoroughly examined at the regular meeting of the Belorussian Communist Party aktiv. Today, however, I would like to dwell only on certain questions.

In order to sharply increase the food supply for the republic's population it is necessary to search more actively for reserves which will ensure the maximum overfulfillment of the plan targets. There are opportunities for this everywhere. In the first six months the republic significantly overfulfilled the plans for meat and milk purchases. This made it possible to increase, in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the sale of



meat products to the population by more than 31,500 tons and the sale of milk products by more than 267,000 tons. The residents of the Brest, Minsk and Gomel oblasts benefitted the most from these increases.

It is necessary to expand the economic independence of labor collectives more boldly and to increase their role and responsibility for the state of the economy.

The plenum praised the intensive labor collectives headed by Lidiya Dimitriyevna Bryzga, CPSU Central Committee member from the Pamyat Ilich Kolkhoz in Brestskiy Rayon, and Ivan Grigoryevich Sinitskiy from the Zagalskiy Sovkhoz in the Lyubanskiy Rayon.

Last year the contract unit of Pavel Ionovich Vanyuk from the Rassvet Kolkhoz in the Luninetskiy Rayon achieve a potato yield of 554 quintals. At the Nosovichi Breeding Plant in the Dobrushskiy Rayon the contract unit of Kontantin Aleksandrovich Khlebtsov achieved an average per-cow milk yield of 6,976 kg of milk, which provided a supplement of 589 kg.

In this same rayon 75 families on the the Ivaki Sovkhoz last year worked at growing tomatoes, cucumbers and other vegetable crops. The family contract provided an opportunity for the farm to sell 1,100 tons of above-plan output.

At present about 90 percent of the brigades and units engaged in plant cultivation and animal husbandry work on a collective contract. More than 150,000 families have taken out contracts for growing fodder and vegetable crops.

At the overwhelming majority of farms the contract collectives are taking their first steps. In order to prevent trouble and disappointments they should be surrounded with attention. Up to now there has not been enough of this attention. All field cultivation brigades at the Poplava Sovkhoz in the Berezinskiy Rayon (Comrade Svirshchevskiy, secretary of the Kutas party organization, is director) work under contract. But this is only on paper. They have not been given equipment; the labor of the machine operators is organized according to the principle of "wherever they send it," and they receive their wages, as before, "at the wheel." Nothing but harm comes or will come from this kind of contract.

And how are the opportunities of the private subsidiary farms being utilized? Speaking directly, the situation could not be worse. In the last year alone meat production in this sector fell 14 percent and milk production fell 6.6 percent. Forty-four percent of the families of kolkhoz members, sovkhoz laborers and other sovkhoz employees do not keep cows and 34 percent do not keep pigs.

This is what the situation looks like in a cross section of oblasts: (expressed as percentages of the total number of families):

	Cows	Pigs
Brest	41.0	28.6
Vitebsk	43.7	43.6
Gomel	47.9	35.3
Grodno	36.0	33.8
Minsk	47.0	29.9
Mogilev	49.6	32.1

Why is this taking place? Because people who have lived for centuries on the nurturing earth, are losing their love for work on the land? The references to objective reasons are not well founded.

Let us be frank: we, the party leaders, have reduced the amount of attention which we give to this sector. Name even one party raykom or obkom plenum at which there was a hard-hitting and fundamental examination of the problems and concerns of the rural resident, a plenum which considered how to help him keep cattle and work the land. You will not be able to name one such plenum. Well, but what about party meetings in the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's? Do communists talk about these questions often? Very rarely.

The attitude toward this problem on the part of the ispolkoms of the local soviets is no better.

And here is the consequence: the managers of many kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's consider the private subsidiary farms to be a burden, which they are not concerned with developing. How much hardship, wear and tear on the nerves and sometimes humiliation does a person, an old lady on her own for example, experience before she gets from the brigade leader a horse to plow her plot or a carpenter to repair her house or before she gets fodder for the beast? Comrades, whom are we ignoring? Veterans, people who have worked on the land all their lives and today wish to labor to make our common food supply more abundant and varied.

Let us agree that the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's must follow the example of the Oktyabr Kolkhoz in the Laykhovichskiy Rayon, the Krasnoye Znamya Kolkhoz in the Dokshchitskiy Rayon, the Neman Kolkhoz in the Stolbtsovskiy Rayon and the Ross Breeding Plant in the Volkovysskiy Rayon and a whole series of others in taking upon themselves all the concerns of the private subsidiary farms. From now on the managers and secretaries of the party organizations must be called upon to work as hard in developing this sector as they do in developing public production.

The republic's commission on the development of private subsidiary farms, which is headed by Comrade Mikulich, deputy chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as well as similar commissions created by oblast, rayon, village and settlement soviets, must step up their work.



The local soviets and consumer cooperatives must make fundamental improvements in the organizational arrangements for purchasing milk, meat, vegetables, berries and other fruits from the public on a contract basis; they must open receiving and purchase depots in those villages where the inhabitants are actively engaged in growing fruits or vegetables.

The private subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises and organizations must make a more substantial contribution to the improvement of the population's food supply. There were 2,045 of them at the beginning of the year. However, 57 enterprises with a total workforce of 500 or more people have not yet established them. Grodno Oblast has 15 such enterprises, the Brest and Minsk oblasts have 13 each, and the city of Minsk has 7. Even now many personnel underestimate the subsidiary farms, viewing their development as a secondary matter. The BSSR Council of Ministers, the oblsipolkoms, the officials of ministries and enterprises must ensure that production on the subsidiary farms is carried out at the level of contemporary achievements in science and agricultural practice.

We must also take a completely new approach to the development of collective gardening. The republic has already seen the establishment of 1,720 gardening associations, which bring together 210,000 families. However, as of today more than 100,000 applications from citizens for land allotments have not been satisfied. It is necessary to see collective gardening as a matter of great economic and social importance. The BSSR Council of Ministers, BSSR Gosagroprom, the ispolkoms of local soviets and Belsovprof (Belorussian Council of Trade Unions) must put an end to any discussions about the lack of land for this purpose and eliminate these questions by the end of the current five-year plan.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum cited the situation with regard to processing and storage of agricultural raw material as an example of the lack of change in the resolution of the food problem. We do not have enough capacity to process both meat and milk, which has put the kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's into a difficult position. The matter has even reached the point where Vitebsk Oblast is forced to sell milk for processing to the Smolensk Oblast. It is fortunate that the neighbors have the capacity for this. But if they had not? And what about cost-accounting [khozraschet] and self-financing? How is this linked to increasing the responsibility of local organs of power for the development of their own territories and for improving the food supply to their populations?

What is being undertaken today in order to correct the situation in one of the most important sectors for the resolution of the food problem?

I must report to the CPB Central Committee plenum that you hear endless complaints from those who are responsible for this situation about the union organs, which, they claim, are not allocating capital investment

funds and are not developing new machinery and equipment. But where are their own actions, where are their own measures for correcting the situation? Why does Comrade Khusainov, chairman of BSSR Gosagroprom, not make a proposal to the republic's council of ministers or to the CPB Central Committee Buro about the accelerated construction of a number of meat combines and milk plants using funds from Gosagroprom or the republic as a whole?

On the other hand, it is necessary to look at what, by whom and within what time frames (and they must be very short time frames) can be done in order to renovate existing enterprises. References to the lack of refrigeration capacities and equipment cannot be taken seriously given the republic's mighty industrial and construction potential.

BSSR Gosagroprom is also neglecting a number of other questions. Some deputies of Comrade Khusainov, hiding behind his broad back, are, so to speak, idling. It is necessary to help them work at full strength, and not just in words (such as the composition of routine instructions and directives) but in deed. The party committee and its secretary, Comrade Glebko, must increase its guiding and organizing role in restructuring the style of the Gosagroprom apparatus.

The Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry of the CPB Central Committee (Comrade Voytenkov, head), as well as Comrade Dementey, secretary of the CPB Central Committee, must also take more active positions.

And now on to the housing problem. Its severity is not decreasing. Questions concerning the further development of the socio-cultural sphere were recently examined in detail by the CPB Central Committee Buro. Some egregious facts were revealed. Neither the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the BSSR Central Statistical Administration nor the oblsipolkoms were able to say how many apartments must be built in order to meet the target set by the 27th CPSU Congress, which is to provide every family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000. No one knew how many families are in line to receive housing. Some said 620,000; others disputed this figure, saying that in a third of the families both the husband and wife are on two waiting lists, but at the different places—one at the local soviets and one at the place of work. In short, the people who are supposed to be in charge of this problem have been falling down on the job completely. The question arises: where is restructuring here? As you see, for many it remains as before an abstract category.

The urgency and political significance of a resolution to the housing problem require new approaches and immediate measures to coordinate the efforts of all the interested parties. A clear program of action is necessary; how, by which means and methods, will the republic ensure that the target set by the 27th CPSU Congress is

met? The BSSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan, Belsovmprof and the oblspospolkoms must finish developing such a program in the current year.

In the meantime neither the search for new ways to expand housing construction nor the fulfillment of the plans for putting it into operation have become a strict rule. In the first half year the plans were not met in the city of Minsk or Mogilev Oblast.

The method of operations using an organization's own resources (*khozyastvennyy sposob*) is still not being developed. In the first six months only four percent of housing was built by this method. The party committees, the local soviets and economic managers must return to the initiative of the Gorkiy Automotive Plant. Universal support for this initiative will help to accelerate significantly the process of providing apartments for the population.

We do have positive experience of our own. The collectives in the Mozyr Land Reclamation Machinery Plant, the Minsk Automotive Plant, the Lida Footwear Factory and the Brest Railway Division are energetically building housing and other social facilities by the contract method as well as by using their own resources (*khozyastvennyy sposob*).

The experience acquired by the Kolkhoz imeni Silnitskiy in the Polotskiy Rayon in modernizing old, uninhabited houses deserves attention. At the initiative of its chairman, Comrade Kimstach, the people here have renovated by themselves more than 100 peasant huts, turning them into modern cottages with all conveniences. At the present time there are quite a few uninhabited houses in rural areas. Some of them could be moved to settled areas where people need housing and then modernized.

The negative attitude toward housing construction which uses the population's own resources has not been overcome. For example, there is the question of Gosbank loans for individual housing construction. The amount of the loan does not exceed 3,000 rubles (10-15 percent of the cost of the home), and the term is for 10 years. For the construction of a cooperative apartment a 25-year loan amounting to 70 percent of the cost of the apartment is granted. The republic's Council of Ministers should examine these questions and find acceptable solutions.

It is also necessary to bring order into the distribution of housing. On this question both the party and soviet organs receive many complaints from the working people. When they are checked, many gross violations of the housing legislation come to light. Everything concerning the waiting lists for housing and the distribution of apartments must be resolved in an atmosphere of widespread openness [*glasnost*] with participation by the labor collectives.

The officials of a number of ministries and agencies, in particular Comrades Bildyukevich, Kravtsov, Kostikov and Markovskiy, did not draw the appropriate conclusions from the directives of the 6th CPB Central Committee plenum concerning the need to increase the production of building materials. And each of them is a member of the CPB Central Committee; each is a member of the republic's government and, undoubtedly, knows the seriousness of the problem. Nonetheless, they are not averse to explaining away the failures and delays with references to so-called objective causes. Yes, they do exist, but the essence of the problem lies elsewhere. These leaders need to mobilize all of their own abilities, as well as the abilities of their colleagues, for the joint work of resolving these questions in the shortest possible time periods.

Our top-priority tasks also include saturating the market with diverse and high-quality consumer goods. Although the republic on the whole is coping with the implementation of the comprehensive program on goods and services, the main goal—the satisfaction of the public's effective demand—has not been achieved.

What does the problem consist of? Above all, it consists of serious inadequacies in the management of consumer goods production. Approximately 100 products which our enterprises could produce are brought into the republic. This reaches the level of paradox. Insulation tape, which comes from Novosibirsk, is still in very short supply. At the same time, the Bobruysk Rubber Goods Plant or the Bobruyskshin Association could manufacture it. Office pins, camping gear, vegetable carving sets, plastic containers for water, etc. These are your questions, Comrade Kebich, chairman of BSSR Gosplan.

Qualitative shifts have not taken place in the underlying organization of consumer goods production at non-specialized enterprises. At one third of these enterprises the output per ruble of the wage fund does not exceed 30 kopecks.

The Volkovysk plants which produce casting equipment (Comrade Pobudey, director and Comrade Matseyko, secretary of the party organization), and roofing and construction-finishing machinery (Comrades Kudryachev and Mishkorudnyy) failed to meet the half-year plans for the production of consumer goods, although the output of these items per ruble of the wage fund amounts to only 34 and 13 kopecks respectively. And these items are far from being technically complex.

There are still frequent instances of good raw materials being turned into output which does not find a market. In the current year the Bobruysk Decorative Goods Association (Comrade Baranovskiy, general director, and Comrade Klyuchnik, secretary of the party organization) has produced 2.5 million rubles worth of blinds and curtains for which there is little demand. One

es. Nor have souvenir items manufactured here in the 11th Five-Year Plan found a market.

You will agree that the situation is abnormal. And Comrade Makayev, deputy chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers, was right when he said in the newspaper NEDEL'YA that the employees of industry and commerce should sit down at a common table to discuss the most serious questions concerning the shortage of consumer goods output, outline concrete measures and fulfill them together. But it would seem that you, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, should be the first person to sit down at that table. And next to you should be Comrade Petrov and other deputy chairmen of the BSSR Council of Ministers.

Improvements have not taken place in the service sphere. The demand for them significantly exceeds the supply; the main complaints in this area should be presented to the BSSR Ministry of Consumer Services (Comrade Grib, minister). The officials of Gosplan, as well as the Ministry of Light Industry (Comrade Nagibovich, minister), Belselstroy [BSSR Ministry of Rural Construction], Mindorstroy [BSSR Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance] (Comrade Sharapov, minister) and BSSR Ministroy [Ministry of Industrial Construction] must share the blame for this.

This problem is not new. How many meetings have been held, how many good decisions have been made, while matters have remained essentially the same: today, just as a few years ago, officials of the ministries and agencies permit themselves to leave the plan targets for services unmet.

What is the reason for such a situation in the spheres which influence the mood of the people most directly and contribute to restructuring and acceleration?

Above all, it lies in the fact that many party and soviet organs, enterprise managers, as well as trade union and Komsomol organizations still have not gotten rid of the old approaches; they continue to treat these tasks as routine matters and attempt to solve them by means of simplistic methods. Even now they cannot comprehend that the party views people's living conditions and convenience as political questions, that it demands that they look at people's needs and take pains over them, that they accept them fully and approach the satisfaction of those needs from other positions.

It is completely obvious that the Secretariat and the Bureau of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee must strengthen the organizational work in this direction.

ent actions which can be implemented through joint efforts along an entire front and at all levels—from the primary party organization up to the CPB Central Committee, from the labor collective up to the government of the republic.

## II. Reform of Economic Management—the Key Link in the Strategy of Acceleration

Comrades! The implementation of radical transformations in the economic mechanism is to begin with the basic unit of production. This is the aim of the Law Concerning the State Enterprise, which is the foundation of an integral system for the management of the economy.

The republic has acquired from economic experiments some experience of work under the new conditions. Personnel have begun to analyze more thoroughly the results of economic and financial activity and to search more actively for ways to increase the effectiveness of production. This year marked the beginning of the next stage in the improvement of the economic mechanism, the core of which is complete cost-accounting and self-financing. Some associations which come under union jurisdiction, as well as enterprises and organizations of BSSR Minlegprom, Minbyt and Mintorg, Belkoopsoyuz [Cooperative Union of the BSSR] and the Belorussian Railway are already operating on these principles.

Beginning next year all of industry, as well as a number of other sectors of the economy, will shift to the new conditions.

The first experience shows that in those places where the personnel were prepared for it well in advance, in a thorough and purposeful manner, good results are being achieved. For example, careful preparatory work preceded the shift to the new conditions at the Minsk Refrigerator Plant (Comrade Voronov, general director). It was carried out in a comprehensive manner, with coordinated efforts by the administration, as well as by party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and with broad participation by all the members of a large collective numbering in the thousands.

At the initiative of the party committee the tasks of introducing cost-accounting and self-financing were discussed at worker and party meetings in all structural subdivisions. Many valuable suggestions were made on how to increase the effectiveness of production. They were carefully examined by the management and the party committee; they formed the basis of the ideological-instructional and organizational-technical measures for the transition to the new conditions of economic operation. A system for monitoring their implementation was established. All of the enterprise's subdivisions have been shifted to *khozraschet* principles of operation, and stable economic norms have been reached for each.



production have been re-inforced with highly-qualified specialists and skilled organizers. This was preceded by the vetting of engineering and technical workers. The organization of socialist competition has been re-examined. In summing up results, the main emphasis is put on the qualitative indicators of work, and the collective is fully informed about them. In the first six months the enterprise ensured the fulfillment of contract obligations and increase its production by 18 percent. All of this increase was obtained through improvements in labor productivity. The proportion of items in the highest quality category amounted to 90 percent. Profits increased 27.8 percent. Questions concerning people's living conditions are beginning to be resolved more actively on the basis of increased funds for social development and material incentives.

Nearly two-thirds of the enterprises operating under conditions of self-financing come under light industry. This sector has tested the new methods of economic operations over a period of several years. Changes for the better have begun to materialize here. It would seem that BSSR Minlegprom will be in a position to use its experience to help a number of enterprises institute more effective operations. But so far this has not been observed.

Each of us understands that successful reform is impossible without a reliable organizational framework and without constant and unflagging attention from the party organizations and economic officials to the enormous, multi-faceted work on the transformation of the economic mechanism. However, neither the party committees at a number of light-industry enterprises nor the employees of the ministry have displayed this kind of attention.

At all levels, beginning with the ministry and ending with the production sector or shift, a number of typical inadequacies can be seen. People are not thoroughly informed about the main features of the new methods of economic management. Cost-accounting principles have not become the underlying principles in the mutual relations of the lower production units. Some economic managers exhibit foot dragging and sluggishness.

The leadership of the Grodno Neman Footwear Factory (Comrade Pavlov, director, and Comrade Gorbatenko, secretary of the party committee) have not established firm and business-like links with the suppliers of raw materials. As a result the plan for the first half year was not met: 269,000 pairs of shoes were not supplied. Nearly a million rubles were paid in fines, as a result of which there were not enough funds to pay wages to the collective.

In general, light industry failed to provide contracted output worth nearly four million rubles in the first six months. The quality of goods is not improving. Every eighth enterprise has increased the planned production costs for items.

But the subject of detailed discussions at a meeting of the republic's party and economic activity in April. I would like to emphasize that only a comprehensive working through of all ideological-indoctrination, organizational and technical questions will bring success. This includes widespread publicity for the meaning and tasks of the new principles of economic management, the instruction of personnel, and the determination of stable economic norms. This involves thorough engineering preparation for production, a heightened struggle to raise the quality of output and labor productivity, as well as the efficient utilization of material, labor and financial resources. It also includes the thorough development of measures for moral and material incentives.

But the concern for scientific and technical progress must be given a special role. What else must be done to raise the technical level of production substantially in the near future?

Firstly, link science and production more closely into a unified system of planning, financing and providing incentives; this requires changes in the actual approach to the compilation of plans for scientific-technical progress at all levels of management.

As you know, the Law Concerning Enterprise grants labor collectives the right to decide independently on the numbers and the wage fund for a plant's scientists, designers and technologists, as well as incentives for their labor, and this right must be fully utilized.

Scientific and technical progress must become the supporting structure of the plans for the social and economic development at all levels from enterprises to sectors and to the republic in general.

Given the new tasks, the BSSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan and the Academy of Sciences [AS] need to speed up the reworking of the comprehensive program for the republic's scientific and technical progress. It is essential to establish a unified mechanism to manage the development of science as carried out by the AS, by VUZes, by the sector and by individual plants or factories; this mechanism must also provide for the close integration of science and production and ensure that scientific achievements are put into practice.

As you remember, the 6th plenum of the CPB Central Committee posed the question of the need for a broad link between science and the economy of the republic, especially in terms of its high-priority directions—computer equipment, machine building and agricultural production.

What has been done in the time that has elapsed? So far only the organizational structure for the new scientific direction entitled "informatics" has been worked out.



However, the formation of scientific-technical programs in the machine building sectors and the agrocomplex has hardly begun. The impression is forming that for Comrade Kritskiy, the deputy chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Demchuk, a department chief of the CPB Central Committee; Comrade Artyushevskiy, a department chief of the BSSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Nikitchenko, deputy chairman of the republic's Gosagroprom; and the leadership of the BSSR AS the fulfillment of directives from the plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee is not obligatory. We hope that they will overcome the old approaches and join in the restructuring; we hope that they will also re-examine their attitude toward party decisions and toward the work which has been entrusted to them.

The leaders of ministries and enterprises are obliged to show great interest in these programs. It goes without saying that their formation and realization must be monitored by the sector departments of the CPB Central Committee.

Even today the Academy of Sciences has proposals for projects, the implementation of which could be of substantial benefit to the economy. For example, the application of research results in the area of intensive biotechnologies is capable of raising the natural fertility of the land, of improving the utilization of fodder and of increasing the reproduction rate of cattle. Unfortunately, neither BSSR Gosagroprom nor the Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry of the CPB Central Committee are going any further than general discussions about the importance of developing this scientific direction. In practice, the results obtained are not finding application in the republic's agro-industrial complex. A similar picture can be seen with regard to the establishment of a scientific direction for machine building.

Secondly. It is necessary to expand the scale and rate of equipment modernization. We will not achieve this if we do not get rid of "free-ride" sentiments, if we do not reconsider the attitude toward the output of equipment and the means of mechanization using an organization's own resources.

Every ministry and every enterprise has concrete assignments for the five-year plan. It is necessary to view them as minimal and to ensure their unconditional fulfillment. Moreover, there is an example to follow. Each year the collective of the "Monolit" Association (Comrade Ovechkin, general director; Comrade Nazarenko, secretary of the party committee), increases its output of equipment for its own needs. More than half of the output here is manufactured with such equipment.

Thirdly. It is essential persistently and scrupulously to collect, generalize, and apply everything valuable that science and the best experience have accumulated. We have many enterprises whose advanced experience is well known. At the Integral Association, whose work has

been praised by the CPSU Central Committee (Comrade Goydenko, general director; Comrade Patskevich, secretary of the party committee), the production unit is being energetically re-equipped with the latest achievements of science and technology. The collective of the Minsk Bearing Plant (Comrade Vysotskiy, director; Comrade Pavlovich, secretary of the party committee) has accumulated useful experience on the introduction of effective resource-conserving technologies. But it would be a mistake to say that the work experience of these and many other advanced collectives has been widely disseminated. And this is explained largely by the fact that the mechanism for the study, generalization and application of everything new and progressive that restructuring gives rise to has not been worked through completely. The BSSR Council of Ministers must bring this question to its logical conclusion and in this way begin to put into action the very large reserve which exists for acceleration.

Fourthly. Gosplan, Gosstab, and the republic's ministries and agencies must stipulate measures which would ensure the complete utilization of funds earned by enterprises. At present many plants and associations are experiencing serious difficulties with this.

The reform in the management of the economy will not yield the necessary effect without the introduction of khozraschet into the lower-level production units. The results of the brigade vetting carried out last year showed that throughout the republic as a whole the proportion of khozraschet brigades is only 26 percent, including 11 in the Minstroyaterialov [Ministry of Construction Materials Industry] and 14 in the Mintopprom [Ministry of the Fuel Industry]. Not one brigade was designated as a khozraschet brigade in the Vitebskdrev or Belavtoagregat Associations, or at the Belorussian Metallurgical Plant in the city of Zhlobin. The main goal in the work of introducing khozraschet is to instill in every worker the feeling that he is an owner because the interest of the working people as the owners of the production unit is the strongest interest and the most powerful force in the acceleration of socio-economic progress.

In accordance with the new requirements it is essential to bring forward the organizational structure of the basic unit of the economy. It is necessary to proceed more boldly with the establishment of territorial associations and production units with general-industrial purposes. They must be based on khozraschet principles, which ensure that every participant has an interest in cooperation.

This concerns first of all the development of service and auxiliary production units. Ours are unjustifiably dispersed. Suffice it to say that the procurement production is represented by 250 shops and sectors of enterprises which come under 33 ministries and agencies. In Minsk alone more than 60 production units of 30 ministries repair metal- and wood-working equipment.

The management of building production also needs further improvement. On average, a trust here uses its own resources to complete only 25 million rubles worth of work per year. It is necessary to expand the production base of the trusts in order to double this volume by 1995. In the work of preparing builders for the shift to complete cost-accounting [khozraschet] and self-financing, particular significance must be attached to finishing the introduction of the collective contract in all places within the current year. The realistic nature of this task is indicated by the fact that today every second trust and four out of five primary building organizations operate according to this method.

The transportation agencies are supposed to shift to complete cost-accounting [khozraschet] and self-financing beginning next year. They must switch from the "gross" approach to the organization of their work to fundamental improvements in quality; they must ensure the fulfillment of contract obligations and upgrade passenger services. This has not yet become the rule everywhere. BSSR Minavtotrans [Ministry of Motor Transport] (Comrade Borodich, minister) is not fulfilling completely an agreement on freight shipments or scheduled bus trips. The proportion of "empty runs" by automobiles has increased. The Belorussian Railway (Comrade Andreyev, head) is not fulfilling contract obligations for the shipment of particular types of freight.

The transport ministries and agencies have not completely worked out for enterprises economic norms which would stimulate their interest in achieving high indicators. The economic responsibility of railway organizations for failures to meet contract obligations for the delivery of rail cars and freight shipments is not commensurate with the resulting losses which industrial enterprises sustain. The BSSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan need to specify measures to improve fundamentally the operational effectiveness of the republic's entire transportation complex.

There are also many questions in commerce which require urgent solutions. Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] and Belkoopsoyuz are trying to introduce progressive methods without changing the old system of management, accounting and planning, which is being conducted essentially on the basis of "past achievements." Personnel have not been instructed in khozraschet principles, especially personnel at the middle and lower levels. As before, it is combines, associations and raypo's [rayon consumer societies] which are khozraschet units. Wages and bonus funds are allotted to primary units from the "common pot." Where are the economic levers here? Where is the interest of the lower-level employee? They are absent. And then there are the unacceptable cases which one encounters.

Take the Molochnoye Kafe in Minsk. It is the end of June, dinner time. There is a long line in the vestibule, but they are not letting people into the dining room

although 70 percent of the tables are not taken. When asked what the problem is, they reply that there are not enough waiters. There are 22 employees there, including three administrators. But not of them could find time to come into the dining room and serve people. And the fact is that they are not interested in this. The cafe is part of an association, and it seems that the employees receive wages and bonuses depending on the results of the association's performance as a whole.

There is a similar situation in the Belkoopsoyuz system. Almost everywhere in rural areas the cost-accounting unit is the public catering system for the entire rayon. Is this why there are no people in a majority of the cafeterias, cafes and restaurants? A large shopping center was built in Zhdanovichi in the Minsky Rayon. It is a lively place. It has a restaurant which seats more than 200 people. The daily turnover is 10 rubles per employee. And there is no reason for them to increase it. Regardless of the proceeds, they receive wages from the fund of the public catering association of the Minskiy Raypotrebsoyuz [Rayon Union of Consumers' Societies]—a cost-accounting khozraschet organization. However, the restaurant has not been shifted to cost-accounting.

Cost accounting has not reached the workshops and other lower level subdivisions of BSSR Minbyit. When analyzing the work of various enterprises, one becomes aware of the fact that many of these units survive because of the redistribution of funds from effectively operating collectives. In the first quarter nearly half of the sector's enterprises did not fulfill the plans in terms of income. One in seven collectives did not even have enough income to pay wages. Minbyit must work more decisively with the oblsipolkoms to break the traditional forms for the organization of labor and apply new ones.

At present the isopolkoms of the local soviets, ministries and agencies are only discussing the need to create cooperatives and to organize individual labor activity. The result is that as of 1 July only 150 cooperatives had started to operate. What is the reason for this? In some places an inventory has not been taken of the quarters, equipment, secondary raw materials and waste from basic production which could be used by people forming cooperatives. Due to bureaucratic practices, the documentation necessary to register cooperatives is being processed extremely slowly.

The isopolkoms of the local soviets are not displaying energy in the implementation of the Law Concerning Individual Labor Activity. The measures worked out at the local level still remain on paper. Artificial obstacles are frequently erected in front of people who are prepared to undertake socially useful work. For example, the BSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Minavtotrans and the republic's Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor] published instructions for car owners who would like to provide transport services for the public. The conditions of operation limit the driver to four hours per day. This

was based on concern for the health of those people who work eight hours at their main job and then get behind the wheel, as well as on the fear of possible road accidents. But what about those people who have decided to use their regular vacation time for this purpose? They could work more than the four hours, as could those who have changing shift-work schedules. We have quite a few car owners in that group of Soviet Army officers who have retired and want to engage in individual labor activity.

This artificial concern for people has become a brake on something good, and it has prompted a mass of complaints. The intervention of the BSSR Council of Ministers was required to remove the restriction. The thought comes to mind: documents of this kind are composed by those who have nothing to do. The authors of such documents and those who sign them should be punished and even removed from their positions.

Cooperatives and individual labor activity constitute our great reserve. It needs to be put to use everywhere without delay. It is essential to follow a policy of having a minimum of 5-7 percent of the total volume of services and public catering provided by cooperatives in the very near future. They must also become mass phenomena in the sphere of consumer goods production.

Fundamental transformations in the main unit of public production require serious changes in the functions and work methods of all the organs of management, especially the sector organs.

The republic's ministries and agencies have been slow to restructure the organization of their leadership of the sectors in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, and they are not showing much concern to create the conditions for the intensification of democracy in the activity of the labor collectives and for the complete realization of the powers granted to them to regulate production and social development. Insufficient attention is being given to establishing within the sectors the material base of the social sphere and especially to accelerating housing construction. In the resolution of these questions there is still no effective interaction between the ministries and agencies, on the one hand, and the soviets of people's deputies, on the other hand, and this has led to disproportions in the formation of the production and social spheres.

Administration by decree still predominates in the work style of the ministries and agencies, as does extreme interference in the operational activity of enterprises, which hampers the initiative and enterprise of labor collectives. The staff members at a number of agencies continue to direct enterprises without leaving their offices. This is especially characteristic of Belglavenergo [Main Production Administration of Power and Electrification] (Comrade Khartanovich, head). Recently 10 directives were adopted on just the one question of how

to improve the reliability of the energy supply for agriculture, but not a single one of them was carried through. Disruptions in the electrical supply for kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's have acquired a massive scale. In the current year more than 18,000 interruptions in the electrical energy supply to animal-raising farms were recorded; they inflicted great harm to agricultural production.

What should be the main feature in the work of the sectors' headquarters? It is the implementation of a progressive scientific-technical and investment policy which ensures the resolution of major top-priority problems of the sector, as well as the organization of the development and application of fundamentally new equipment, technology and materials, which are highly competitive. It is the implementation of balanced and well-proportioned development for the sector, the rational distribution of production, the determination of a progressive profile of enterprises, the improvement of the level of concentration, specialization and cooperation in production and the effective resolution of inter-sector tasks on the basis of close interaction with the concerned ministries, agencies and local soviets.

Under the conditions of complete cost-accounting and self management the work of the republic's economic agencies must take on a qualitatively new character.

The restructuring in Gosplan has been dragged out. The BSSR State Planning Committee does not always ensure that plans are scientifically grounded and balanced. It does not always provide for the rapid growth of science-intensive production units, the acceleration of technical upgrading of the economy, or a close link between the sector and territorial interests, between production and the social spheres. Its approaches to planning are dominated by methods which limit the initiative of labor collectives, reduce their responsibility for the achievement of high results and in the end direct the development of the economy along an extensive path.

A substantial portion of the blame lies with Gosplan for the disproportions it has allowed in the development of the processing branches of the agro-industrial sector, in the production base of the construction organizations, the building materials industry; Gosplan must also take much of the blame for the lagging performance of the fuel and energy complex and for the inefficient siting of production forces.

In the organization of all planning work there must be a decisive shift from administration by decree to economic methods; when plans are being compiled, an enterprise's interest in the fullest utilization of its resources to increase the amount and quality of output and to raise the production efficiency must be maximized.

In Gosplan's work the following activities must be given high priority: the constant adjustment of the economic mechanism; the creation of the economic preconditions



for successful work by labor collectives and the development of scientifically-grounded economic norms and limits, which ensure the harmonious interests of the state as a whole. It is necessary to expand the framework of democratization in planning, as well as to restructure planning at all levels from plants and association up to the BSSR Council of Ministers, based on the provisions of the Law Concerning the State Enterprise.

The material-technical supply system is called upon to ensure that under the new conditions the development of the entire economy and of each association and enterprise is effective and dynamic, and that the utilization of material resources is efficient. For the supply organs the main direction in restructuring is the transition from funding to wholesale trade. As present the latter does not exceed 3.5 percent of the total volume of the sale of resources.

The BSSR Gosstab apparatus (Comrade Negerish, chairman) spends a great deal of time on the resolution of current problems and not enough on the introduction of progressive forms of material-technical supply provisions. He needs to improve substantially the forecasting of the economy's needs for the most important material resources, to strengthen the material-technical base of the supply organizations and to create back-up reserves of products in the necessary quantity and assortment. Direct economic ties between suppliers and consumers must be developed jointly with the ministries and agencies.

The system of price formation is called upon to become an active instrument for the introduction of new methods of economic operation and management. At present the prices for many goods do not reflect the socially necessary costs to produce them; they do not take into account fully the consumer properties of items, nor do they regulate supply and demand well. The mechanism which has developed for price formation is based to a significant degree on reimbursing the individual expenditures of enterprises, and this makes it possible to obtain unearned profits.

For example, the profitability for the production of non-ore materials within the system of BSSR Minstroy-materialov in the past year was nearly double the norm, and for sanitary-engineering equipment produced by BSSR Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry] it exceeded the norm by a factor of 2.8. This is the direct result of distortions in the setting of prices, for which BSSR Goskomsen [State Committee on Prices] (Comrade Ling, chairman) is largely to blame. Price formation needs to be more reflective of costs. It is important to monitor more closely the observance of the state discipline of prices.

Fundamental changes must be carried out in the financial system. The BSSR Ministry of Finance (Comrade Shatilo, minister) and its local offices for the most part carry out monitoring functions; they are still not helping

the ministries and enterprises to introduce complete cost-accounting to improve accounting practices or to develop economic norms. They do not study thoroughly the reasons for a production unit's losses, and they make few suggestion on how to increase its profitability.

The efforts of the republic's financial organs must be shifted from recording inadequacies and violations to performing intensive analysis, searching for and implementing the most effective levers for the maximum improvement in the use of fixed and working capital, for the reduction of expenditures, for the elimination of losses and for the achievement of better results from the operations of every enterprise and association.

The republic's Gosbank and Srobybank offices, as well as their local institutions, do not always create conditions which prompt plants, associations and organizations to make efficient use of credit. In practice up to seven percent of credit resources go toward covering up inadequacies in the cost mechanism operating in the economy of enterprises rather than toward the goals of improving production effectiveness. The employees of the banking organs must increase the role and stimulating influence of credit on the economy.

BSSR Goskomtrud (Comrade Fomich, chairman) and its local organs also face new tasks. They limit their work primarily to accounting, and to discovering and finding jobs for the unemployed population. Their role in the development of the brigade forms for the organization and stimulation of labor is obviously inadequate. The committee is doing a poor job of determining the economy's future need for personnel in the mass trades and at the middle levels, as well as for specialists of different kinds.

Goskomtrud must work out a system for managing labor resources; it must display more initiative and persistence in realizing the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on improving the organization of wages and introducing new wage rates and salary scales.

The informational support for the process of fundamental transformations in the economy and social development must be raised to a qualitatively new level. Today, however, it cannot be said that the BSSR TsSU [Central Statistical Administration] (Comrade Nichiporovich, head) has restructured its work. It is necessary to continue making improvements in statistical reporting. The TsSU must work with the planning and financial organs to determine a system of indicators which objectively define the phenomena which are taking place in the economy and the social sphere. Particular attention must be directed to the improvement of analytical work and the intensification of economic analysis.



The republic's Council of Ministers must head up the restructuring of the work of the economic and sector ministries and agencies. For each of them basic directions for the further improvement of their activity must be specified, as well as measures to strengthen their influence on the development of the economy and to clarify their functions and organizational structure.

Another aspect of the question should also be touched upon. As is well known, we have ministries and agencies which come under direct republic jurisdiction. It would seem that they should be guided by the appropriate management organs headed by the BSSR Council of Ministers. In fact, however, not much of a tangible restructuring is taking place here. Officials and specialists from a number of ministries, even those who do not have relatives in Moscow, still have to go directly to the union-level organs.

For example, Minbyt finds that in the course of working out the principles of complete cost-accounting and self-financing quite a few completely new questions arise which the economic agencies are obliged to resolve both locally in the republic as well as in the union organs. However, Comrade Makeychenko, the first deputy chairman of Gosplan, Comrade Shatilo, minister of finance, and Comrade Fomich, chairman of Goskomtrud, either do not want more concerns or are afraid to take the responsibility upon themselves.

The Minbyt employees can do nothing other than go to Moscow themselves for various reasons. Last year, for example, they were there for a total of approximately 150 days. And Comrade Minister Grib has already has already spent five weeks there in the current year for this purpose. And it is not surprising that certain questions have still not been resolved in the sector, questions which are related to the work of economic management under the new conditions.

And it is completely unacceptable to have individual republic organs impeding the introduction of what is new and forward-looking. Here is a scandalous case. BSSR Mindorstroy organizations, which have been operating under the new system since the start of the year, have been permitted by the union-level organs to establish funds to stimulate collectives and to develop the sector through planned savings on expenditures for construction and for major and minor repairs of roads and highway structures. Nonetheless, employees of the BSSR Ministry of Finance and the republic offices of Gosbank and Stroybank have imposed a ban on the use of this right.

Nor has the apparatus of the BSSR Council of Ministers found its place in the improvement of mutual relations and the coordination of efforts by the sector ministries and general economic agencies. The government must consider these questions from a comprehensive viewpoint, and it must work with the republic's ministries

and agencies to determine who must do what concretely in order to create the best possible conditions for fruitful work in the sectors of the national economy.

The procedure must operate rigorously: the ministries which come under republic jurisdiction are resolving all of their own questions directly within the economic agencies, Gosplan and the BSSR Council of Ministers.

### **III. Learn to Work Under Conditions of Democracy, Increase the Party Influence on Restructuring**

Comrades! The main task of every party organization is to strengthen its influence on all aspects of the life of the labor collective, to expand and intensify the transformations which have been started, and at the same time to increase in every possible way the responsibility of communists and economic managers for the state of affairs and for the resolution of problems which develop.

It is necessary to proceed from the premise that the best method of establishing the new approaches, of providing ideological-political education for the working people and of intensifying restructuring is propaganda by action: by the exemplary organization of labor, production and the social restructuring of people's daily life; and by indoctrination through discipline, order and real advancement in all sectors of economic and cultural construction.

It is necessary to be guided by the Leninist claim: "We propagandized with general truths before, but now we are preaching through work. This is also preaching, but it is preaching through action..."

It is in this spirit that the the Mozyr, Pinsk, Volkovysk, Soligorsk, Novopolotsk and Osipovich gorkoms, as well as the Berezovskiy, Glubokskiy, Grodnenskiy, Minskiy, Nesvizhskiy, Dobrushskiy and Oktyabrskiy party raykoms (in the city of Minsk) are restructuring their work. And what is it that is new and characteristic of these party committees? Speaking briefly, it is the active, goal-oriented search for effective forms and methods of work under the conditions of expanding democracy, the mobilization of each and every person for the introduction of everything that has been praised in the practice of the new style of economic management and in the life of the labor collectives.

For example, the Mozyr city party organization was one of the first in the republic to be concerned with ensuring that elections were commonly held for the leaders of shifts, factory and plant subdivisions and enterprises. When it works out decisions on the most important questions of the city's life, the CPB gorkom consults with the primary party organizations and draws firm support from the opinion of communists and non-party members. The number of sessions and the paperwork have been reduced for the party aktiv, and economic managers have time for lively independent work.

The activities of many other party committees and organizations, as well as the soviets of people's deputies, trade unions and Komsomol organs, are also changing in the direction of greater democracy and becoming more substantial. People's initiative is growing.

The June elections for the local soviets showed this. They were characterized by a higher level of participation, greater adherence to principles and high standards; they were a test of the maturity of the voters and the candidates for deputy. There were discussions of 150,000 candidacies for 85,375 deputy positions. Worthy representatives of the people were chosen for the local organs of power. In the course of the elections more than 21,000 mandates were presented by voters to the candidates, and more than 11,000 critical comments and desires were expressed.

The working people expressed deep satisfaction with the activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo in accelerating and intensifying the restructuring, in improving the welfare of the Soviet people and in ensuring a firm peace. Many proposals were aimed at improving the economic mechanism and the management of the economy. And this is extremely gratifying. Without the consistent and serious participation of the workers and engineering-technical employees, the questions related to the implementation of radical reform in the economy will not be resolved.

All of our personnel must be firmly guided by this. At the 6th plenum of the CPB Central Committee we discussed in a comprehensive manner the questions of improving the work with them in the light of the requirements of the January CPSU Central Committee plenum. Although not much time has passed, positive changes have taken shape.

The first experience of electing personnel (and in the first half year we have elected more than 200 directors of enterprises and sovkhoz's, 2,000 heads of shops and sectors, foremen and brigade leaders) has shown the following: people have started to take a more demanding attitude toward the political, moral and work qualities of their leaders and toward the style and methods of their work. And they, in turn, have started to feel greater responsibility to their subordinates.

But this is only the beginning. The party committees and organizations need to organize matters to ensure that the working people take an active part in this process, that decisions regarding personnel questions express their opinion, and that worthy employees who are admired by their fellow workers are promoted to leadership positions as a result of thorough, broad and genuinely democratic discussion. Only this, in combination with increased monitoring by the Central Committee departments and the CPB obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to ensure that all party and state organs, as well as public

organizations, strictly observe the Leninist principles of personnel policy, will make it possible to finally eradicate negative phenomena in personnel work.

There must be one criterion for promotion: high political and moral qualities, the ability to successfully pursue the policy of restructuring and to ensure its qualitative implementation at the assigned work sector.

You recall, comrades, that at the 6th CPB Central Committee plenum we agreed that every department and the secretaries of the CPB Central Committee would be concerned not only with management and "nomenklatura" employees, but also with all personnel in the sectors receiving special attention, including personnel from the mass trades. The discussion concerned in essence the need to work out a system which would make it possible to manage effectively the training and retraining of personnel, as well as the development of the network of VUZ's, tekhnikums and vocational-technical schools. But we do not yet have such a system. This should be put down to Comrade Boris, chief of the Department of Organizational Party Work of the CPB Central Committee, and Comrade Bartoshevich, second secretary of the CPB Central Committee, who were entrusted with the job of directing this work.

Today no one doubts that the intensification of democracy is impossible without the expansion of glasnost. Nonetheless, a number of labor collectives do not yet hold the latter in high regard. The Beltoplivostroy Trust of BSSR Mintopprom did not meet the targets for the 11th Five-Year Plan or for the past year; nonetheless, the amount of bonuses received on average by each employee increased 25 percent for the year 1986 alone. These and a number of other inadequacies were revealed by the committee of the ministry's party organization assigned to monitor the work of its apparatus. However, its conclusions and proposals were not made public; on the contrary, everything was done to prevent people in the collective from knowing about them.

It is essential to arrange matters in such a way that decisions, orders and directions concerning all aspects of the life of the collective are received publicly and displayed in prominent places for general viewing.

Obviously a procedure should be established: the leader of every labor collective must report annually to the workers and to engineering and technical employees. It is necessary to establish the practice of regular (no less than once a year) reports to the labor collectives by members of the Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms; officials from the republic-level and the local soviet and economic organs; and public organizations concerning the activities of that organ to which they were elected or which they head.

It is essential for all of us to clearly explain once again: where openness and glasnost are not present in our work, there is fertile soil for the emergence of excessive bureaucracy. We have been struggling against this evil for more than a year. However, people are extremely reserved in their judgement of the results of this struggle. Letters to the CPB Central Committee, to other party committees, to the editors of newspapers and magazines are full of serious and urgent signals about the indifferent attitude which a number of officials have toward the people and their needs and concerns.

Excessive bureaucracy has many faces. The employee who operates on the principle of "signed and good riddance," finds every possible way, while observing the outward forms, not to resolve the question and to keep the document from being monitored.

Comrade Luchenok, chairman of the BSSR Union of Composers, went to the CPB Central Committee with a request for assistance in improving the production and creative work of the Gosteleradio symphony orchestra. The request was assigned to the Council of Ministers for consideration. They considered it there and came to the conclusion that assistance could not be given. Comrade Petrov, deputy chairman, wrote the reply to the Central Committee.

But he, as everyone knows, deals with sectors which are far removed from music. Why, then, is it his signature on the reply? The explanation was quite simple. The official who was assigned to look into the letter did not begin to trouble himself to search for a resolution of the question—after all, that was too much bother. It was much simpler and more convenient for his own peace of mind to compose a formal reply and pass it on for signing to his boss, who was not up on this subject matter.

Of course, Comrade Petrov might not know all the details of this question but as an official of such high rank he was obliged to see in the author of the letter a bureaucrat, to put it bluntly.

The restructuring has stimulated the social participation of the working people. The party and soviet organs are receiving a multitude of letters and suggestions. Of course, not all of the proposals can be taken up, and not all problems can be quickly resolved. But each one of them has a rational core to it, and the person who does not try to find it and direct matters toward a positive ending, the person who is deaf to the opinion of the people is the one who is holding up restructuring.

In criticizing the employees of the soviet and economic organs, I want to acknowledge in the spirit of self-criticism: similar inadequacies have not been completely rooted out of the apparatus of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Recently the CPB Central Committee directed to the Council of Ministers for the adoption of measures a proposal to expand the construction of hospital facilities in the republic. However, the Central Committee's Department of Administrative Organs, which did not expect the Council's reaction, concluded—based on the materials from the BSSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health]—that it would be impossible to realize this proposal in the current five-year plan because the ministry does not have the appropriate planning and estimate documentation.

As if it were not enough that the department took upon itself functions which were not its own, it also took an unprincipled position of appeasement. And, after all, only a year and a half has passed since the start of the five-year plan; in the remaining time one could not only work up the planning and estimate documentation and start construction but also hand over the completed facilities ready for opening.

And here is how the question of opening a medical faculty at Gomel University was considered. The conclusion concerning the inadvisability of this course was made by Comrade Kornevich, first deputy chairman of BSSR Gosplan. And on what grounds, do you think? On the grounds that out of the 20 candidates of medical sciences working in the oblast's health care institutions eight are of pension age. Do you feel, comrades, what kind of logic we have here? The same kind that was used in its time to explain the lack of promise attributed to many of our villages.

As strange as it seems, the chief of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the CPB Central Committee, Comrade Demchuk, and a secretary of the CPB Central Committee, Comrade Pechennikov, agreed with Comrade Kornevich. Again appeasement, again a lack of principles. And this is after the 27th party congress and the January and June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

Democracy is a vast, multi-faceted concept. However, some people are attempting to see only those facets which are more advantageous to them from the viewpoint of their individual selfish interests. This is a purely consumerist, I would say, narrow-minded approach to a process, which frees people's moral and creative potential, opens the door widely to glasnost, criticism, and self criticism, and at the same time makes very serious demands on each of us.

The enormously complex tasks facing the country cannot be resolved without strengthening discipline in literally all spheres of our life and without imposing order everywhere and in everything. True democracy has nothing in common with complete license, slackness and lack of responsibility—with everything that hinders restructuring and acceleration.



The "cost" of discipline and organization have always been high, but now they are especially so. In an age in which machines abound, in which cooperation in production is developing on a broad basis, and in which the relations between people have become more complex, one sloppy worker can inflict damage which forces entire labor collectives and even regions to come to grips with great economic and moral costs.

Democracy is the higher responsibility of each for the assigned sector of work and of all for our common affairs. It is a responsibility which is based on an all-around, conscious understanding that only in a well-organized system can every successive step be firmer than the preceding one.

From this there is one more conclusion: democracy is the need for a more intense party influence on all spheres of people's lives. Nonetheless, certain party committees are not developing it. And this leads to a situation in which many economic, organizational and ideological-political reserves remain unused and not at the service of restructuring.

Recently the CPB Central Committee Bureau examined the work of party organizations in the city of Mologodchno on intensifying democracy in the life of the collectives and using this as the basis to increase the effectiveness of the ideological-political indoctrination of the working people.

The Gorki party (Comrade Stakhovskiy, first secretary) has not succeeded in re-orienting the party organization secretaries and other personnel to understand the growing role of the collectives in developing in workers a feeling that they are the owners, a feeling of pride in their collective and a feeling of individual responsibility for the resolution of the new tasks.

The role of the councils of labor collectives, public organizations and workers meetings in expanding self government at the production unit has not been determined. Workers and specialists have not even been drawn into the discussion of the socio-economic development plans, the development of obligations or the distribution of material incentive funds.

The party meetings in the city continue to take place in an overly organized manner; they have not become a place for the broad exchange of opinion or for the collective working out of decisions. Certain party organizations have little influence on the strengthening of the communists' vanguard role. Formalism in the reports of CPSU members has not been eliminated. The committees to monitor the activities of the administration show no initiative. Every fourth economic manager failed to report to his labor collective on the results of the past year.

Democracy must be learned not from textbooks and not from instructions but from life itself, on the basis of the growing social and labor activity of the people. Collect into one money-box and direct for the benefit of the common cause the experience of the masses, the initiative of the masses, the suggestions of the masses: that is what is needed now in the work of accelerating socio-economic development and carrying out the radical reform in the management of the economy.

The primary party organizations were, are and will be the main support of the party committees. No one, neither the Central Committee nor the CPB obkoms or raykoms knows better than they what the situation is at the plant, on the shop floor or in the sector; no one knows better where the bottlenecks are or what is holding up improvements in production effectiveness, the resolution of social questions and the improvement of ideological-indoctrination work. But it is not enough to know. It is necessary to act. To act with initiative, decisively and boldly, competently, constructively and creatively. Today this must determine the face of every party organization. As the CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasized, these organizations are undergoing a test of political maturity and willingness to fight: the transition to the new methods of economic operation and the realization of the principles of self government in the labor collectives will depend largely on their party position and practical work.

Today we cannot say that all primary party organizations are passing this test. Moreover, some of them are giving up previously gained positions.

Recently the Minsk Production Association for the output of Cutting Off and Broaching Machines (imeni S.M. Kirov) (Comrade Yarmolik, general director and Comrade Ivanov, secretary of the party committee), was among the most advanced enterprises; today it is limping along.

What has happened is what always happens if the party organization is satisfied with past accomplishments and does not look at results self-critically, if it does not analyze the situation in good time and does not keep up with events. It did not take measures to prompt the managers, specialists and the entire collective to put into effect reserves for the intensification of production. The association puts up with bad workmen and those who commit infractions. In the past half year the number of violators of labor discipline and anti-alcohol legislation has increased 1.5-fold. Despite this situation, the party committee has been slow to get involved in the shop-floor party organizations; it underestimates the seriousness of the accumulated problems and is not raising the demands placed on communists.

The CPB Leninskiy Raykom in the city of Minsk (Comrade Bytsko, first secretary) should help this party organization get out of its impasse.



At the report-election party meetings it is necessary to analyze in detail how the restraining factors and old means and methods can be eliminated, how the people's creative initiative and participation can be stimulated and how their spiritual life can be renewed. It is also necessary to ensure that more skilled organizers of the transformations and genuine supporters of restructuring come into positions of leadership in the party organizations.

In those party organizations in which reports and elections will not be held it is essential to hear year-end reports from the party buro and the party committees on the course of restructuring.

The work of the Central Committee Buro and of the CPB obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the with regard to the leadership of this process is to be discussed at plenums of the respective party committees. This will be an important stage in the preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference

The work style and methods of the soviets of people's deputies are in need of qualitative upgrading. Many of them are still making poor use of the significant rights granted to them

The Orsha Gorispolkom talks a great deal about restructuring; however, there is an extremely large gap between its words and its deeds. They talk about the need to accelerate the development of the economy, but enterprises violate their contract obligations and reduce the output of mass demand goods; the builders, as well as employees in the commerce and service spheres fail to meet the plans. They talk about the need to strengthen discipline, but the drunkards drink as they did before and the pilferers pilfer as they did before. They talk about the need to improve cultural and public health work, but the cultural institutions stand empty, sports facility are becoming overgrown with grass and the public health conditions of the city are declining. There are questions here for both the Orsha CPB Gorkom and the Vitebsk Oblispolkom.

The local soviets need to have their executive committees participate actively—not with words but with deeds—in the economic management reform and in the qualitative restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The trade unions must also increase their role. The trade union organizations must give their attention to the work of instilling in every person the feeling of being an owner of the production unit, the need for personal participation in the restructuring and acceleration, and a feeling of responsibility for the implementation of the specified changes. In the new conditions of economic management it is important for every worker and engineering-technical employee to have economic knowledge and to make skillful use of this knowledge in practice. An on-site study of the matter shows that at many enterprises the specialists, the managers of shop floors and

sectors, as well as the workers, have a poor understanding of the essence of the economic management restructuring, as well as the principles of complete cost-accounting and self-financing. Setting up universal instruction in economics is a task not only for the economic managers but also for the trade union organizations.

The new forms for the organization of socialist competition need to be carefully thought out. The entire system for taking on obligations and carrying them out, for providing moral and material incentives should be set up so that it constantly reminds a person that his labor and his opinion are necessary to the collective, and moreover, that without his participation the complete resolution of the problems facing us is impossible.

The pre-anniversary socialist competition, which is gathering strength in the republic as it is throughout the country, opens up broad opportunities for this. Hundreds of enterprises and associations, as well as nearly 800 kolkhoz's and sovkhoz's, 25,000 shop units, sectors, farms and brigades have undertaken to complete the assignments of the first two years of the five-year plan by the 70th anniversary of Great October.

The struggle to achieve high qualitative indicators must become the core of all labor rivalry. The most important task is the active dissemination of the experience of right-flank socialist competition, the experience of all those who work smoothly and efficiently while producing a high yield, of those for whom restructuring has become a reality, a vital requirement.

Conscientious, creative work needs to be encouraged with all possible measures—economic, organizational, and ideological. Every good worker must be confident that his efforts will be noted and recognized. It is essential to declare a merciless war against unwarranted levelling in the moral and material incentives for people.

The task of the Komsomol consists in carrying out an active search for new forms of creative participation by Komsomol members and young people in the work to raise the effectiveness of public production and develop scientific and technical progress, as well as for ways to bring the specific age and vocational interests of young men and women closer together.

The role of the press, radio and television is increasing with the intensifying democratization, which is taking place in all aspects of our life. This was emphasized once again by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in a meeting with leaders of the mass information media and the creative unions.

The press has stepped up the heat of its criticism. But the opposition to even fair criticism has also grown. Relations with the press must not be structured in this way. Cooperation, rather than opposition, as well as party support for it and attention to it are necessary.

The mass information organs themselves must be more energetic about restructuring themselves. The newspapers *Zvyazda*, *Sovetskaya Belorussiya*, and *Selskaya Gazeta*, as well as the Belorussian Telegraph Agency, the oblast press, the television and radio stations, and the trade journals do not always go into depth in their coverage of the economic transformations. The publications and programs on cost-accounting and self-financing do not contain enough analysis of the the experience of restructuring.

The pages of newspapers and magazines must be organized to provide a forum for broad discussion, for the exchange of opinions and for round table talks on the practical questions of restructuring. Such forums as special television programs, "tele-bridges" and "live shows," etc. should be developed more energetically. The reaction of various groups to the problems being put forward by life can be seen through these programs with feedback; they help one to understand better "who is who" and where the obstacles are on the road to restructuring and acceleration.

Newspapers, television and radio must show in a comprehensive manner the social and economic advantages of the main levers of reform in order to arouse in people the desire to participate actively in their implementation.

Comrades! Less and less time remains before the glorious 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

To celebrate this great and joyous holiday in a worthy fashion means to reaffirm actively, persistently and purposefully the ideals of Great October in everyday life, to carry out the restructuring in a serious, creative and constructive manner, to multiply the revolutionary transformations which have been started in society and to increase the efforts in the struggle to accelerate the socio-economic development of the Country of the Soviets.

The June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee marks a new stage in this work, which is unprecedented in its scale. And we—communists, Komsomol members, and all the working people of the republic—must live in a way that ensures that with each day and each hour, this work increases in scope and accelerates our movement along the path set out by Lenin and built by Great October.

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#### **Armenian CP CC Member Acknowledges CPSU CC Plenum Criticism**

18300641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 87 p 2

[Letter to *Pravda* from G. Markaryan, cost-accounting brigade leader of the Yerpromstroy Trust, member of the Armenian CP Central Committee, and Hero of Socialist Labor. "Only for Honor"]

[Text] Yerevan—The reaction of Armenian communists to the impartial criticism directed at the republic's party organization from the rostrum of the CPSU Central Committee plenum in July has been one of bitterness together with recognition of its justice.

I have been giving a good deal of thought recently to our present situation. There is no hiding the fact that an entirely unjustified complacency manifests itself in the republic. There is not the demandingness that there should be of our skilled workers. We have yet to wage an effective struggle against bribery, speculation, and favoritism. There is a strange contrast between the passionate speeches one hears, urging an end to the ugliness, and what one sees—the rust of this very corruption penetrating our life ever more deeply. It seems that some people have even grown used to the idea: "No grease—no motion."

I even have trouble at times convincing my own children of the inevitable punishment that follows wrongdoing. When I stubbornly insist to my son Gagik that life must be lived in accordance with conscience, he proposes—and he is a grown man, the father of three children—getting by as in the bazaar, "in the thick of things" as they say, where the unwritten laws of bribe-seeking often predominate.

Altogether, it is a messy situation. And what is the main reason for it? Maybe the root of the discord of voices and conflict lies in the fact that up until this time a system of half-measures has prevailed in the republic with respect to violating the standards of our life. At all levels—from the basic party organizations on up to the Armenian CP Central Committee—there has not been a rigorous demand to pursue wrongdoing or adequate supervision over measures undertaken, and much has been forgiven.

At how many plenums of the Armenian CP Central Committee have I heard, for example, criticisms directed at managers in the areas of domestic services, trade, transport, and law enforcement? And what happened after this criticism? Nothing whatever, there was no result, and the criticism rolled off the ministers like water off a duck's back. And why, one might ask, were the criticized ministers not called to account at the next plenary session? Let them report on what changes have taken place in their departments. And if there have not been swift changes for the better, let them explain.

I consider it to be the basic task of all communists in the republic to not only initiate propaganda for the ideas of the restructuring, but to strive to put them into action. The main thing is for us all to rid ourselves of indifference. We must learn to speak the truth to one another, no matter how bitter, without blinking and without embellishment.

At the July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was justly stated that there are some people in our republic who seem to believe that the process of restructuring in Armenia was under way even prior to the CPSU Central Committee plenum in April. Who are these "some people"? I do not know. They are those people who do not want real changes, who fear them, who try to adapt to the new trends while leaving intact the old ways, renewing only the texts of their public utterances.

Such a situation, of course, is unacceptable; it sticks in the throat, as they say. And it cannot be overlooked—that is what is most alarming. So they hurry to create the semblance of effort, of initiative and striving. Such a screen, as we know, saves them for the time being. Unfortunately, such behavior has not received the attention that it should have and an emphatic rejection by the republic CP Central Committee.

For the restructuring, of course, there is nothing worse than the split between words and actions. How can we overcome it? We, as builders, for example, are blamed for low-quality housing. I am not referring at this point to the absence of high-quality products and materials or other costs. These are a fact of life. What disturbs me is this. Someone decided that the way things are going at the building sites could be covered up by commissions. Now life is impossible without them, representing the statistical organs, Stroybank [the Bank for Financing Capital Investments], Gosstandart [the State Committee for Standards], the State Construction Inspection Office, the Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation, the People's Control Committee, and so on.

Many of these committees, I will tell you outright, are arbitrary and smack of extortion. Of course, the inspectors know in advance that by comparison with them, the Grand Masters, the work superintendent is a wretched newcomer who is bound to lose the match. For under present conditions he has virtually disqualified himself and turned into a rank- and-file supplier. He has practically no time to draw up documents and take measurements, and so he sticks closely to project estimates. In a word, there is not the proper accounting. And some inspectors, when they come to a project, the first thing they do is ask for their favorite documents—Certificate No 3 or Form 2B. Then they declare "Checkmate." Willingly or not, the superintendent must "grease their palm."

Meanwhile, the ways of covering up what goes on at the construction sites are well known. I have spoken of them frequently at different levels of operation. If we will strengthen the work brigades and convert them to financial accountability, then right away the need for having a lot of work superintendents will cease. They can be used for engineering support, operational supervision, and long-term planning.

The work routine of our integrated cost-accounting brigade convinces us of this. It consists right now of more than a hundred people. We work in two shifts. The introduction of the collective contract has made for an improvement in work incentives targeted at the end result. Speaking of the numerous inspections, I do not deny the importance of supervisory control. But the control must be effective and constructive, so that matters improve following the visit of a commission. For the present the conclusions of those performing the inspections most often remain on paper. Is this not the reason for the fact that the building industry in our republic continues to limp on both feet? It is not working at full capacity. In almost every manufactured article deviations from the All-Union State Standard can be found. Production processes have not been mechanized in an integrated way at one of the six housing construction plants. These omissions have not been pointed out in a single instance by the various commissions. And the result? Nothing has changed.

In our brigade we often discuss these "sore spots" openly. Misha Manukyan and Gayk Grigoryan have worked side by side with me for more than 30 years. And others joined the brigade later: G. Manukyan, S. Grigoryan, Z. Abalyan, L. Avetisyan, G. Mikayelyan.... For all of them, our working comradeship is sacred. Not one would let down the brigade.

But should we now concern ourselves only with our own brigade? Why do we not decide to ask the people with unclean hands the timely question: Why don't you live within your means? Why do we wait until a person resorts to criminal acts? A belated reproach does honor to no one, particularly communists. To be personally honorable but to overlook ugly goings-on around one is likewise dishonorable. Decency implies vigorous commitment.

A forthright and impartial discussion took place at the recent republic CP Central Committee plenum with many speeches directed, as they say, not at the eyebrows but right in the eyes. This is heartening, but the main thing is that the words not be left, as before, hanging in the air.

A person's behavior, his personal conduct, reflects his relationship with other people, with the collective in which he works, with the party, and with society as a whole. The time has come not for self-complacency and indifference, and certainly not for empty assurances. No one is going to do anything for us. Let each one look carefully around him. It is mandatory, I think, that he take heed of what lies at hand—that is the work he must set his mind to undertake.



## **Armenian CP Buro Discusses CPSU Plenum Criticism**

18300642 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian* 11 Jul 87  
p 1

[Unattributed report: "An the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The Armenian CP Central Committee Buro discussed priority measures to deal with criticism expressed in a report by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the party organization in the republic, referring specifically to its leadership. The Buro acknowledged, utterly and completely, that the criticism was both just and timely.

The restructuring in Armenia has been spinning its wheels. Republic workers are greatly dismayed by the situation that has developed in the economy, especially with regard to the moral and intellectual atmosphere. Meanwhile, the party leadership in Armenia, epitomized by Central Committee First Secretary K.S. Demirchyan, maintain the view that the situation in the republic is entirely satisfactory. Moreover, there are some who assert that the restructuring process got under way even prior to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. A spirit of complacency manifests itself in the republic that is in no way justified. There is not the demandingness of skilled workers that there should be, and an effective campaign against bribery, speculation and favoritism has yet to be launched.

The CPSU Central Committee has charged the Armenian CP Central Committee with the task of conducting an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs both within the party organization and in the republic as a whole, to review it with respect to basic principles, and to undertake the restructuring not in words but in actions.

It is mandatory for the Buro, for the Central Committee Secretariat, for the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, for the Council of Trade Unions, and for the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol, together with the party committees and organizations, the soviets and economic organs, and all communists, to learn the lesson of fundamental party criticism pronounced at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to evaluate self-critically their own performance, to radically alter the style and methods of their operation, and to undertake decisive measures for the unconditional fulfillment of resolutions passed by the 27th CPSU Congress and by the April (1985) and by the January and July (1987) plenums of the Central Committee. On the basis of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, they must work out and implement specific measures to eradicate existing shortcomings in the economy, and in the social and moral and intellectual spheres as well, while mobilizing the efforts of communists and republic workers for a radical restructuring of social, economic and political life. A priority should be

given to the actual steps taken toward the broad extension of the restructuring process in depth as well as breadth and to accelerating the reorganization of the management of the economy.

The necessity was recognized of convening a plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee for the purpose of discussing ways to speed up and extend the restructuring process within the republic in the light of the demands made at the July (1987) CP Central Committee Plenum concerning the republic party organization. Stated for discussion are the results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks emanating from the criticism and the resolutions of the plenum as well as plenary meetings of the party gorkoms and raykoms and the meetings of primary party organizations that took place in July of the current year.

Conferences, at which the priority tasks resulting from the demands of the July (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum were reviewed, have been attended by the first secretaries of gorkoms, prominent workers of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, as well as the leaders of ministries and departments, the chairmen of the ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and executives of the mass media.

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## **Effects of Uzbek CP Measures to Improve Employment Noted**

18300633b Tashkent *KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian* No 6, Jun 87 (signed to press 5 May 87)  
pp 49-51

[Article by I. Suleymanov, candidate of historical sciences: "The First Steps Have Been Taken"]

[Text] One important factor in the intensification of social production is the more complete utilization of labor resources. Local party organizations are presently concentrating great efforts on this.

As we know, in Uzbekistan there is a surplus of manpower, and part of the able-bodied population has not been enlisted in social production. A good many of these are housewives, but there are also loafers and parasites who deliberately avoid socially useful labor. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee made a detailed study of the state of affairs with regard to this issue in Kokand, and in June 1986 the Central Committee's bureau heard a report by the party gorkom on guidance of the training of skilled worker personnel. In this connection, not only were serious shortcomings noted, but specific ways were also pointed out to make more efficient use of production potential and enlist in socially useful labor those who for various reasons were avoiding it.



It should be said that this problem had long troubled the party gorkom, but almost nothing in a practical sense had been done to solve it. The rates of Kokand's economic and social development were not providing for balance between the growth of labor resources and the number of jobs, and the public job-placement bureau had not provided for measures to transfer surplus manpower to other regions of the country.

Resolute restructuring in this matter began only after the issue had been discussed by the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro. The city party committee and gorispolkom promptly developed measures, identifying first of all the actual number of people not employed in social production.

How was this work organized? 60 agitation centers were opened, and 1,500 activists canvassed streets and apartment buildings. The establishment of a clear picture of the state of affairs made it possible to spell out a great deal specifically in a comprehensive plan for the job placement of the unemployed population. The role in this of a specially created bureau was strengthened; now it is channeling manpower to the city's enterprises in a more regular and systematic fashion. It became obvious that the task of job placement, as emphasized back at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee's Third Plenum (October 1986), is linked in extremely close fashion with improvement of the population's working and living conditions. To this end it was also necessary to provide for appropriate measures.

But the main work was launched in production: reserves were identified, and possibilities were thought through for converting enterprises to a two- or three-shift schedule. Taking into consideration the fact that 14 of 29 industrial facilities operate continuously, a decision was made to shift an additional four enterprises to a three-brigade method of operation and to raise the shift coefficient of equipment at eight others. This latter measure alone made it possible to employ about 2,000 people. And prospects during the 12th Five-Year Plan are as follows: the commissioning of new industrial enterprises, reconstruction of existing ones, and expansion of the capacity of plants and factories will require about 10,000 additional workers. The party gorkom is already directing labor and education agencies and the executives of vocational-technical schools, technicums and higher schools toward their training. The questions of vocational-guidance work in general-education schools and the quality of the training of workers and other personnel have repeatedly been discussed lately in the gorkom buro. The work of vocational-technical schools, which are the forge of working-class personnel, has been studied in detail, with great thoroughness.

The specific tasks set by the gorkom, which proceeded in this connection from the experience of the Leningrad and Kharkov oblast party organizations, have forced enterprise executives to raise the shift coefficient. The

footwear factory and the Garment Factory (mini) Akhunbakhayev were among the first to shift to this sort of operating schedule. It was not simple.

For example, the footwear factory's executives were very much troubled by the fact that there was not a single enterprise in the branch operating on such a schedule. But the gorkom, giving them every possible support, proposed taking a risk and adopting the innovation, since without it no sort of restructuring would be possible. On the advice of gorkom officials, the factory management began the new undertaking with a detailed discussion with specialists. G. Georgiadi, chief of the machine shop, proposed setting up a special tier in the shop where a brigade could leave its output after a shift in order that the next brigade could continue work on the line. The experiment was conducted in the fourth shop, and the need for 160 workers immediately emerged.

At the Garment Factory (mini) Akhunbakhayev the shift to the new operating schedule made it possible to produce 500,000 rubles' worth of output from September until the end of 1986. This year that index should be about 4 million rubles. 80 new workers have joined the factory's fifth shop in a short period of time. Most of them are housewives and recent school graduates. Neither of these groups had been trained in an occupation, and neither was acquainted with garment production. Now they have all been assigned to experienced workers.

Great untapped potential lies in the use of the latest scientific and technological advances. Thus, during the 11th Five-Year Plan 822 units of new technological equipment were installed and put into operation at the Kokand Stocking and Spinning Production Association, with an economic effect of 618,000 rubles. A branch of the spinning factory has been put into operation in the village of Uchkupryuk, which has made it possible to increase the output of combed yarn by 1,540 tons a year and to raise the capacity of the stocking production facilities by 16 million pair. As a result of all this, 364 additional people will be placed in jobs.

And here is what the Bolshevik Plant did. At the plant 40 obsolescent machine tools were removed from the premises, freeing 290 square meters of area for the installation of new-model equipment. Work was organized in two shifts. On the scale of the city as a whole, it would be possible in this fashion to free 4,500 square meters of production area, installing new equipment there.

All these organizational, economic and technical measures are intended to ensure fulfillment of assignments for raising labor productivity and improving product quality. And this work is being headed by party organizations. It must be said that party groups have been set up everywhere in the "bottleneck" sectors. The vanguard role of communists is increasing under the conditions of restructuring. Each of them can achieve a great deal if he will display principle and a sense of responsibility for the fate of plans that have been set, and if he will genuinely

everyone that deeds must not be replaced by talk and empty chatter. This is why the sole criterion for the evaluation of work in the city party organization is now achieved results.

At the 13th Congress of Uzbek Trade Unions, note was taken of the experience of the cities of Kokand and Chirchik, which have strived to use equipment to full capacity and raise labor productivity. Progress is also

1986 plan on 20 December, and more than 19 million rubles' worth of output was sold over and above plan assignments.

But only the first steps have been taken. Great work lies ahead. And along this path there are numerous departmental barriers standing in the way of technical reequipment and the evenly paced supplying of raw materials and other materials to enterprises.

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**Oleynik: 'Znaniye' Lectures Must Be Truthful**  
18000797c Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 1 Jul 87 p 13

[Article by Boris Oleynik: "Truth Is Not a Matter for Haggling: From a Talk at the Znaniye Society Congress"]

[Text] The noblest of aspirations — to introduce all spheres of knowledge not just to a few individuals or an elite circle, but to the masses — inspires gratitude and admiration. Tens of thousands of activists are honorably and unselfishly working in this boundless field. They are up to their ears in this important work, and are sacrificing their free time in order to sow "seeds of the wise, the good, and the eternal." They are doing this not out of fear, but out of conscience, and frequently not for legal tender, but on a voluntary basis.

This latter fact must be emphasized. No one is against material rewards. On the contrary, our financial agencies must finally recognize the requirements of restructuring and allow society to use its material resources to encourage creative endeavors. However, we have no right to ignore the fact that for some time the principle of material gain has recently gone from being a natural incentive fostering creative competition to being a flagrant race for the ruble.

And indeed many lecturers, having imparted their sparse knowledge at a number of sites in a single day, immediately shamelessly withdraw these very rubles from circulation. It will not be long before some young man who has become skilled at such educational transactions makes a declaration of love, counts the words, and demands from his partner not only a natural reward, but a material one.

After all, this is a natural consequence of the fact that somewhere along the line the way knowledge was imparted stopped being appropriate to the intellectual level of the audience. Unfortunately, in our work we are still using the model of the 40s, 30s, and even 20s, when the lecturer visited a semi-illiterate audience in order to open a window onto the worlds of knowledge of which he was sole master.

However, at the end of the 50s and beginning of the 60s, when man was conquering space, and when television, which is equally accessible to academician and third grader, entered our lives, the amount of information possessed by members of society was more or less equalized.

Those who were most sensitive to this change in circumstances first began to engage their audience in discussions on an equal footing, i.e. to transform their listeners into collaborators. This practice gave rise to new forms, discussions, debates, and round tables; the lecture gave way to the tournament of ideas and opinions.

These innovators, who initially were universally termed adventurers, had, and indeed still have, a hard time of it. It is far easier for those who still follow the old practice of entering a hall occupied by a hastily summoned and frequently not completely democratically recruited audience and stride up to the lectern with the springy gait of a leopard. How frequently the first rustle of the pages of his warmed-over lecture has plunged his listeners into a state of deep melancholy, born of consciousness of fruitlessly wasted time! At the same time, the lecturer, having rounded the bend of the prosaic present, has ascended to the heights of the bright future, which is as alluring as it is abstract, and which has absolutely nothing in common with what can be seen out the window.

The older folks, who have seen even worse, more or less tolerate such performances with equanimity. But this is a bigger problem for the young. Credulously comparing the lecturer's "truths" with reality and repeatedly encountering major discrepancies, the younger generation has gradually developed a skeptical attitude toward the truth.

Our young people have begun to seek their own values in their own way. And they have frequently found what they would have been wise to discard. Yet this is not their fault, but their misfortune, which has its source in the lecturers of their fathers' generation who have too often told untruths or, even worse, half truths. Truth is not and cannot be a matter for bargaining, negotiations, conditions, or concessions, as Belinskiy insisted. How can we earn the trust of the young when, for example, someone whom only yesterday we called an "outstanding figure in the international communist movement," today we label as an ordinary voluntarist, and when one of those who participated in the development of stagnant phenomena, was only yesterday praised as a true successor of Lenin and virtually the chief strategist of World War II?

Only a true public figure who has earned the right to make independent decisions in the most critical situations should address our youth. And he must speak the truth and only the truth, no matter how bitter it is. And he must not keep silent, using higher state interests as an excuse.

It is no secret that, even after the Chernobyl disaster, we still have not answered many urgent questions concerning atomic energy. Nor can it be denied that the Ukraine, one of our most densely settled regions, but one which occupies only 3 percent of our territory, is, according to *Pravda*, the site of 10 of our 41 atomic energy stations, i.e., one quarter of our nation's total Atomic Energy Station capacity; nor that plans call for increasing that capacity. This means that there will be new accumulations of radioactive waste and that, according to estimates of both Soviet and foreign experts, if nuclear energy continues to develop at the present rate, we will have to solve the problem of burying millions of tons of radioactive wastes.



Do we not have the right to get answers to these and other questions from our scientists, if only at lectures sponsored by the Znaniye Society? And is it right for us, the fathers, to hide from the inquisitive eyes of our children beneath an umbrella of secrecy? At the present time, when both sides have the capacity to read a page of *Pravda* (calling for openness) on the ground from orbit high above the Earth, they can certainly scrutinize a power station. After all, neither we nor they, especially in the US, have undergone a "crisis of faith" in nuclear power plants after major emergencies.

The most powerful support in spiritual education, especially of the younger generation, has been and still is literature. In our republic, writers are not merely guests, but full participants in the work of the Znaniye Society. I could name many interesting, truly creative undertakings conducted by the Writers' Union in collaboration with our Society.

After all, literature contains more than an emotional charge; it not only entertains readers, but teaches them to separate the wheat from the chaff, to tell the difference between eternal and transitory values, and, most important, it teaches love for our multinational Soviet Fatherland. And, last but not least, it fulfills the role of teaching how to live.

Of course, I am speaking here not about rubbish, but about true, highly talented literature. However, blatant imitations are still frequently published. For example, the hero of one of these, a forest ranger (the book, by the way, titled "The Forest Rangers," is intended for the middle and upper elementary school children), talks about a forest fire. All attempts by the brawny peasants to put it out have failed. I quote:

"And then we saw Masha (i.e., the forest ranger's wife.) She calmly walked up to us and asked, 'What's all the noise about?' 'Your forest is on fire. We have tried and tried to put it out...' Masha replied, 'I can see that for myself, I'm not blind. Well, now turn your backs, you shameless fellows.'"

"The peasants turned their backs. Masha unbuttoned the top of her dress, drew out her breast, and squirted a thin stream of milk onto the fire. The fire went out. The flame and smoke disappeared."

There's information for you.

..I bring this up, honored colleagues, because a modern activist in the Znaniye Society must constantly remember Lenin's words to the effect that even "the noblest of tasks can be vulgarized."

I am ashamed for our male critics, who, blinded by the smoke of internecine squabbles, have failed to notice the blatant lack of elementary culture in the work of certain authors and have failed to defend the honor of women. I

am confident that the activists of our society, armed with the light-bringing sword of knowledge, will do this with restrained manliness as is proper for true servants of the truth.

Now, during the period of democratization of all structures, particular stress must be placed on increasing the level of legal education. Why is this the case?

It goes without saying that the process of democratization and all its benefits are intended for the honest worker. But working people, occupied in productive labor, frequently simply do not have the leisure to figure out all the ramifications of the democratic mechanism.

Individuals who have made demagoguery their primary profession and have successfully pursued it for years, including during the years of stagnation are another matter entirely. Having learned to perfection not only all the legal directives, but also every loophole in them, they, sacrificing as little as possible, have learned to shake out of society everything that is not tied down, both in regard to rights and privileges and to material goods.

In other words, such types, in contrast to the majority of workers, are splendidly grounded in legal matters, and, without breaking stride, divined what privileges and benefits democratization would bring them personally. And then they confidently stepped up to the microphones, tribunals, and lecterns. Having, without stopping for breath, traded in the set of concepts they utilized during the period of stagnation, and renovated them with restructured terminology, they have again ended up as leaders.

And they have begun to demand that everyone and everything change, first and foremost, their own personal opponents, without even attempting to disguise their strategic goal: "instead of him — the past, me — the present," even when the "past" is a fine, honorable worker, and the "present" is worse than mediocre.

This is how it frequently happens that democratization, conceived for the good of honorable men, becomes an evil when it falls into the hands of sly individuals.

I could cite examples indefinitely. The freshest is the extraordinary congress of the Ukrainian Theatrical Society on the occasion of its transformation into the Union of Theatrical People, during which certain loud-mouth advocates of restructuring replaced constructive criticism with blatantly insulting attacks on respected, venerable individuals.

This and similar incidents — are the consequence of legal illiteracy. For this reason the primary obligation of Znaniye lecturer-activists is to help eliminate this obstacle to education as rapidly as possible. They must persuade honorable people that they not only have the right, but the obligation to use the most democratic

method, open voting, to take the floor away from loud-mouths, and even to evict the boors from the meeting hall. They must further explain to a person who has been humiliated and abused from the tribunal by a hooligan that the latter can be sued for personal libel. In a word, the lecturer must help honorable people to understand all the subtleties of the democratic mechanism and show them how to use it appropriately.

Of course, it would not do to overestimate the danger from loud-mouths. However, closing one's eyes to the "ravages" of demagogues is also unacceptable, if not a criminal luxury. After all, one of the most caustic acids, capable of destroying not only individual components, but also whole democratic structures, is precisely social demagoguery. In the wrong hands, no matter how paradoxical it may seem, openness can ultimately lead to the same result as previous lack of openness — to cynical mistrust of the very essence of restructuring.

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**Actor Finds Theater More 'Cautious', Less Vital**  
*18000797b Moscow PRAT'DA in Russian 11 August 87*  
*p 3*

[Article by Leonid Filatov, honored actor of the RSFSR: "An Actor's Opinion: Remarks on the Issues of the Day"]

[Text] "Morality" has become one of today's most popular words. In how many different ways has it been used recently! Morality of thought, profession, action, science..... The words fit readily into phrases, as shiny and sonorous as a new penny. How wonderfully we speak! Sometimes considerably better than we understand the meaning of our own words.

A theater critic, who personally is a thoroughly decent fellow, writes that the theater has "legitimately turned away" from formalistic experiments and toward traditionalism. And we all pretend that what happened didn't happen. In truth, we all know very well that the theater did not turn away, but was turned away. The attempts of all sorts of theaters to experiment with form have withered on the vine... Yet the theater is a spectacle designed to create impressions; if it stops experimenting with form it will cease to develop. At present we are reaping bitter fruits: of all the theaters in Moscow, only one, the Theatre imeni Leninskiy Komsomol, is working seriously on form. And this is not because such things have been banned, the social atmosphere during the last decade has simply engendered a certain type of director.

A journalistic debate is raging, authors are crossing swords in print, the plays of this season are being considered in the context of the best attainments of world culture. And yet we haven't had such a vacuous season for a decade... It is possible to give tradition its due and speak ill of the evil bureaucrats in the proper place, and yet still go a little deeper.

Judging from my observations, the majority of today's young directors are indifferent to the kind of play they produce. What's the difference if it is a play about modern prostitution or events from the past, as long as the message is good. This trait has a number of consequences. Where is the morality in the new standard, through which a young person, a novice director or actor defends his right to exist in art on the basis of things which have nothing to do with art? Not long ago, a play by the young director, V. Sarkisov, opened at the theater on Taganka. It immediately caused a great sensation, help was sought everywhere. Theatrical masters got into the act, the newspapers were in an uproar, young people took offense... And yet the production itself was abysmal...

Who is to blame for the fact that mediocrity has been granted the right to exist in today's theater? Those who were in charge of art for decades? The critics? Or perhaps, we all made our own small contributions, all of us who have made this theater.

Now, when, at least in the theaters participating in the experiment, no one put pressure on a director putting on his own productions, when the system of prohibitions has collapsed, we have learned that without prohibitions things are more difficult. We have lost the knack of racing without hurdles and now, when they have been removed, instead of running forward we are looking around us — afraid of tripping. And we are especially frightened of treading on someone else's toes.

This is particularly relevant to today's criticism. I am afraid that if, 50 years from now, they were to reconstruct the history of our theater on the basis of material in journals and papers, those of us who have survived until then will scarcely be able to recognize it. We would learn that the best production of the seventies was one devoted to casting steel, and that the theater on Taganka scarcely existed at all. But, let the historians do what they will, criticism has a greater outstanding debt to us, its contemporaries.

From time immemorial, people writing about the theater have served as the leaven which started the life of the theater fermenting. Remember the twenties, the fierce and biting polemics, the clubs and theatrical cafes, Moscow with its head buzzing from the altercation between Lunacharskiy and Meyerhold. And yet no one who was wounded by the sharp words of an opponent ever dreamed of running out into the public square crying out that he was being murdered. Nor did anyone appeal to higher authorities for redress because an attempt was being made to annihilate him artistically. Nowadays this has become an everyday occurrence.

No matter how those working in the Russian theater at the beginning of the century reproached contemporary criticism, the fact remains that it created the nutrient medium needed for the theater to develop normally. The theatrical journalists at the turn of the century were

reproached for their interest in theatrical gossip. But in my opinion, our modern theatrical philosophers could borrow a page or two from their book. Internecine theatrical conflicts, as a rule, are outside their purview. It is unworthy of a self-respecting person to get involved in other people's quarrels, and thus the conflict is driven deep within the collective and frequently causes it to explode. And as a result, fates are sealed, lives are destroyed...

I confess that I am horrified to see how people can restructure themselves in a single day. Nowadays, you frequently hear words such as "conscience," "duty as a citizen," "fatherland," "morality." Unfortunately, we have forgotten the sound of the fine old Russian word "shame." I lose my head when I see how a man who several years ago sang beautiful paeans to those who brought our theater to its current state, today rush ahead of progress and demand still greater harshness, still greater openness. Is it seemly for a member of the Russian intelligentsia to be in such a hurry to change convictions he has held for 20 years? And yet... And yet, perhaps, a good part of the trouble in our life has resulted from the fact that the term "member of the intelligentsia" today has taken on the meaning of "person with a higher education," or, in the best case, "educated person."

We have ceased to make high demands on ourselves, and this is the most important trait of a member of the intelligentsia. Lack of professionalism has become extremely common among theatrical people, and after all a member of the intelligentsia is a professional of the highest degree. I do understand why an actor is compelled to make extra money and expend energy on vulgar hack work — personal appearances, variety shows. The starting wage in the theater is 100 or 120 rubles. And in our profession one must dress well, and if one has a family, they have to be fed.

But why should mediocrity so frequently turn out to be the most viable trait in a director, for example? Why should an opportunistic director, who only yesterday was a lighting director and has just barely learned the rudiments of his profession, when it comes his turn to make a film, find it so easy to get foreign screenings in three different countries, not to mention a television contract? And why should critical discussions generally turn into a kind of family squabble, in which an outsider, barely acquainted with the facts, is only too aware who is settling a score, for what and with whom? And why have we grown so accustomed to all this for so long, that it is even embarrassing to mention it. Why speak banalities which we are all sick and tired of and which we are reconciled to?

We have lost the knack of noticing much and even in ourselves there are many things we do not see. Today, in the age of restructuring, many theatrical people go on feeling themselves to be what they were 20 years ago, at the end of the 60s. But time has passed, what the years

have done to us, cannot be described — at times the road of theatrical ideas is a rough one, and the road of those who lived these ideas is no easier. You look yourself in the face and don't know yourself. It hurts to look, but you can't help yourself — aging "iconoclasts" repeating 20-year old maxims to today's youth with outmoded bombast are more ludicrous than touching.

It is a misfortune when a theater lives off the inertia of long-gone successes. This was the calamity of our theater — the theater on the Taganka. (Currently I am associated with the Sovremennik Theater, but the Taganka is still "my" theater.)

As a rule, any theater begins to die after 20 years — when the people who started it pass 40, and illnesses come, followed by weariness, someone becomes a "star," someone else is transferred to supporting roles. Then, when the roof begins to fall on their heads, everyone is brought together again and understands that there is nothing more precious than this building. And in the meantime there are films, and more films and work on television... And you change and the times change, and suddenly the idea which at one time brought them all together, exists somewhere else, outside ..

The theater on the Taganka arose on a wave of social scorn for the people who ultimately filled our lobby and displayed their furs and diamonds during intermission. Against our wills we became a "status" theater. The students were ousted from our halls by those who had made their fortunes in auto repair, trade, and the like. We would damn them from the stage and they would watch with great satisfaction. We would ridicule them and they would keep on coming — after all, this was a prestigious theater, its name could be dropped in conversation. But the most amusing thing is that our metaphors and our techniques for conveying ideas were completely incomprehensible to the majority of these people.

And now we, the social theater of the 60s stand before the youth of the 80s, who are sceptical, unused to accepting anybody else's words on faith, and extremely sensitive to the slightest false note (Could this be the reason that Moscow theater audiences are growing older?) and search for a theatrical language which they will respond to. The theatrical ideas of our new chief director, Nikolay Gubenko, are unusual. We are striving to retain our role as a theater of cogent social commentary, a publicist theater. But this will be a new type of publicism, couched in different forms, possessing different techniques, and, ultimately, different capabilities. Videotechnology will become a component of our productions, open discussion with the world... But I have not been given the authority to "show our hand."

The time for change has come. It is a shame that some people think that everything around them must change with the exception of themselves. I am firmly convinced that no administrative changes can save our theater. The



theatrical experiment grants enormous authority to the theatrical collective, but where is the guarantee that it will be the collective which is right, and not the sole hold-out whom everybody berates? During the short time that this experiment has been in effect in Moscow, we have encountered examples of this more than once. The times demand that we, the theatrical intelligentsia, take an honest look at ourselves.

It is time to stop appealing to authority when someone hurts your feelings with a harsh word. (Here is a paradox — now when we are fighting to create democracy and openness, a substantial number of those who played at leftism are appropriately and inappropriately appealing to authority for help — this is true not only of people in the theater, but to the creative intelligentsia in general.) We must learn not to be afraid of criticism, while criticism must become critical. Culture in the life of society (which we are sadly short of!) presupposes the ability to speak the truth and to accept the truth.

We need to learn how to make way for those who are behind us on the road. Where are the graduates of training programs for directors, where are the critics who are now 30 or 35? Who is responsible for their fates? The times alone or someone else as well? It is time to stop being afraid of our own shadows. It is time... It is time to learn the meaning of those words which we have taken such a liking to.

9285

**Critic Assails TV Program On Movie Industry**  
18000797a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 11 Jul 87 p 8

[Letter to the editor by Yevgeniy Surkov]

[Text] The television broadcast "Cinematography: Yesterday, Today, and ..." has already evoked a number of negative comments in the press. Nevertheless, I would like to bring it up once again, out of motives which appear to be purely personal only at first glance.

V. Demin, the secretary of the Cinematographers Union, speaking to millions of viewers, considered it necessary to mention my name. After describing me as a "splendid critic," "marvelous stylist," and the like, he nonetheless expressed doubt about my right to participate in the restructuring of cinematography. The reason he gave is that, according to him, in my speech to the 4th Cinematographers Congress, I praised all the stagnant phenomena which are now under attack. However, I actually said nothing at all about the state of cinematography in my talk to the 4th Cinematographers Congress. I was addressing quite a different topic: the tasks facing the cinematographer in light of the international political situation existing at that time, and issues related to film

criticism, which I, as editor-in-chief of the journal "Film Art" (which had been awarded the order of the Red Banner of Labor not long before the congress), could not ignore.

Why did V. Demin find it necessary to attribute to me ideas which were not even hinted at in my speech at the 4th Cinematographers Congress? In order to go on to deflect the criticism contained in my reply to the questionnaire in your journal (*Sovetskaya Kultura* 13 July). In this reply, I deplored the situation which developed over the past year in the Cinematographers Union and led to the repeated and consistent exclusion of a whole group of talented artists from the union's work. The union makes a habit of dividing cinematographers into "our side" and "our opponents," or "acceptable" and "not acceptable," leading to a state of affairs where major artists who, for one reason or another, had come in for criticism at the 5th Congress of Cinematographers were "dismissed" from the union and to this day have not been allowed to participate in its work on an equal basis with the younger artists who came into power after the congress. This is both irrational in a practical sense and profoundly unjust in a human one since, in addition to the mistakes criticized at the 5th Congress, these directors have performed incontestable service to the cinema and its audience, and possess enormous creative potential, which it would be stupid and absurd to fail to utilize in joint collective work.

It is a pity that V. Demin showed neither the capacity nor the desire to understand this simple thought. Today, when the nation as a whole and the entire field of cinematography confront responsible and difficult tasks, it is especially important to enlist the help of all who are capable of making a contribution to the communal task. And, thus, it is especially critical to abort any kind of stupidity before it starts. Judging from his speech on 1 July, V. Demin, the secretary of the union, has not yet understood this point.

The urge to throw out, "palm off" any criticism addressed to the union's secretariat can also be seen in the reaction of R. Bykov to the article by V. Tolstykh, "The Drama of Good Ideas," which was also published in *Sovetskaya Kultura*. This was an extremely serious, profound, and well thought out article, and thus one which deserved, even demanded, attention. However, R. Bykov hastened to dismiss V. Tolstykh's article, stating that it contained only half truths. Does this not mean that there was indeed some truth in the article? Why then did Bykov fail to analyze and reveal this truth in his discussion with the viewers? And why did he fail to supplement it, to use his speech to supply that portion of the truth about the situation in the union, which he felt that the article "The Drama of Good Ideas" did not convey?

All of us are currently following the work of the secretariat elected at the 5th Cinematographers Congress, which has been such a turning point in our film arts, with

hope and great interest. But for precisely this reason, we are unwilling and unable to ignore anything which is hampering the work of the secretariat. Here, as everywhere, there is a crying need for bold, open criticism. And the sooner all the members of the secretariat understand that their work will not achieve its goals without open, fraternal criticism, the closer we will come to attaining these goals.

In conclusion, I would like to address one more issue, one which is ethical in nature. In their speeches to the enormous television audience, B. Demin and R. Bykov attacked V. Tolstykh and me, although we were not in the studio and thus could not respond to them. Is it ethical to use a "live broadcast" to attack comrades not present for rebuttal? I ask this question because I believe

that "live broadcasts" are finally going to become a common practice in Soviet television, and thus are something that concerns us all. Precisely because of these prospects, I feel that the moral responsibility of those who have been given the opportunity to directly address the immense television audience must be especially great.

To speak to such an audience is not at all the same thing as speaking to one's comrades in the union. I think that the television broadcast "Cinematography: Yesterday, Today and..." has made us think about issues at this level as well.

9285

**Leningrad Historical Preservation Controversy Continues**

18000786 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 87  
p 3

[Article by Anatoliy Yezhelev, *Izvestiya* correspondent: "In One Boat: How the New Thinking Is Gaining a Foothold in Word and in Deed"; two of the *Izvestiya* articles mentioned here appeared in JPRS UPA-87-006, 16 Jun 87, pp 79-92]

[Text] Here is the following case: The Leningrad gorispolkom published its reply to *Izvestiya* in...the city newspaper *Vecherniy Leningrad*. And in this reply, to look at the essence, there is disagreement with our critical articles. We are talking about publications which discussed how young Leningrad residents tried to prevent the demolition of the building of the former Hotel Angleterre and how the city authorities did not regard it as necessary to listen to the community, and to the demand of the voters (cf. "A Lesson for Whom?" in No 86, "Lesson for the Future" in No 99, and "A Difficult Farewell to the Past" in No 115 of *Izvestiya* for 1987).

Let us make a reservation at once: The reply came in good time, but a great deal in it called forth questions and objections. If, in plain language, the conversation in it was taken away from the acute problems of democratization raised by the newspaper into the routine of technical questions, and the only ispolkom worker, who openly and dramatically was censured in the answer of the chairman of the Leningrad gorispolkom, Comrade Khodyrev, turned out to be...his assistant! About himself and his deputies he talked in the style: "They did not take sufficiently into account...."

In a word, this reply could be published either at once or after the more precise definition of a number of positions of the Leningrad gorispolkom, for which meetings and conversations would be necessary, but these were pre-election days and everyone had other concerns. They decided to wait a little; unexpected for the editors, the reply appeared in the local evening paper.

Let us try to understand why the gorispolkom, on the eve of the first session of the Leningrad soviet of the new convocation returned in the press to the events of March. Perhaps they had still not sufficiently demolished the famous hotel? No, they had demolished it at the same time, by the way, with a neighboring house on Gogol Street. Then, perhaps, the young people continue to meet opposite the windows of the gorispolkom—and somehow interfere with the life of the city? They in no way interfered with anyone. So then what happened?

You see, there must be some sufficiently weighty reasons in order to start again to talk about those events. The reason, I believe, is one—the desire to announce the unchanged nature of their positions then and now—"after the 'Angleterre'" (in the evening paper the reply to *Izvestiya* is thus titled: "After 'Angleterre'").

An answer of the same type was received also by *Stroitel'naya Gazeta*, which devoted a large editorial statement to it in the issue of 4 July of this year. (It is called "Behind the Screen of Half-Truth. The Ispolkom of the Leningrad Soviet Attempts To Conceal the Truth About the Illegal Demolition of the 'Angleterre'"). We refer to it for those who are interested. But there is in reply a position which it is impossible to pass by in silence—this is the subsequent attack on the young people who took part in the actions on Isaakiyevskaya Ploshchad, in essence an attempt to slander the social Group for the Salvation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, which was created within the framework of a Komsomol initiative. Here we must do a little investigating.

The situation connected with the demolition of the "Angleterre" itself clearly also received an unequivocal assessment not only in the central press. Still in April, hot on the trail, it was examined by the Leningrad party obkom, where the actions of the leaders of the Leningrad gorispolkom and a number of its services, which provoked the mass actions of the young people, were condemned. There was a report in *Izvestiya* about this session. By decision of the bureau, V. Khodyrev and two of his deputies, V. Matviyenko and B. Surovtsev, were instructed as to the "necessity of a radical reorganization of the style and methods of their work." At the recent session of the country's Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. Sheludyakova also perceived the sources of the conflict in the actions of the Leningrad gorispolkom, whose work is not filled with "real democratic content."

It appears there are no differences in the assessment of the events. Nevertheless, in the reply an attempt is made all the same to heap the blame on the "intractable" young people, who came out for the monuments of culture, and to their leaders' ridiculous motives of an adventurist sense are ascribed, which have nothing in common with the facts that are known to the entire city.

That is to say, something paradoxical took place, something which contradicts not only the truth of our life, but also common sense: The side which we have just now criticized—and this criticism would be acknowledged as justified—began to condemn "the inconvenient," making use of its position and power. (By the way, since in the readers' responses a rather large number of wishes and proposals concerning personnel placement after the elections to the local soviets were expressed, we report that all the leaders named in the Angleterre materials occupied their previous positions.)

In short, if anyone suffered in this affair, then it was the young defenders of the old hotel. Here is the last example.

The 24-year-old museum worker Aleksey Kovalev needed a reference for the university, where he decided to obtain additional training in order to study the archaeology of Central Asia, which long ago had fascinated him. The committee of the Komsomol, where, as



they say, they know Kovalev from all sides, including as one of the enthusiasts for the protection of monuments, gave him a positive reference. But the Smolninskiy raykom of the Komsomol introduced corrections: They wrote in the document that as a Komsomol member Kovalev "manifests political short-sightedness and a lack of principles in the selection of the form and methods in his activity in regard to the preservation of monuments," that he is distinguished by "unstable political views." Among the people it is accepted to call a document of that sort a "marked ticket." Naturally, the road to the VUZ was closed to him.

This reference—we shall call things by their names—is an example of the settling of accounts with those who have dared to openly dispute the actions of officials in the sphere of the city's life, where everything is close and dear for the soul. And where, literally, the opinion and the desires of the Leningrad citizen for many years did not mean anything and did not interest anyone.... To put it bluntly, they decided to teach the young man a lesson—it is clear, you see, that such a reference, like a concealed ulcer, can, goodness knows, poison life. To think only for what they are punishing him—for the fact that he did not want to be indifferent to every resident, that he conducted himself in conformity with our new conceptions concerning the open exchange of opinions, concerning the democratism of relations, toward which the program of restructuring, developed by the party, orients people. In essence, this is how it is! You see, the actions of the young people, their not being indifferent to history and to the monuments of the fatherland—this is what was generated by living reality.

Let us repeat once more: The group of young people about which we are speaking is not some kind of self-styled association. It arose as a section of the Center for Creative Initiative of young people, created by the Leningrad gorkom of the Komsomol.

With the assistance of the same gorkom of the Komsomol, the lads organized a mass meeting to protect the house of Delvig, which, in accordance with the decision of the city authorities, was to be demolished any day in order to free the site for new construction. It was precisely the initiative of the youth group which, with the support of the Leningraders, saved the monument.

This meeting and the actions of the young people was talked about by the entire city and was written about in the newspapers. The people forced the local authorities to rescind the hasty and insufficiently considered decision. In this was a sign of the times. People are glad that the voice of the public is already not an empty phrase. But at the same time, someone's overbearing ambitions were affected. Someone was frightened by the very form of the manifestation of public opinion—there had not been such a manifestation in our practice. Of course, they did have to begin to worry—those who wanted to detain the very spirit of democratization somewhere on the boundary line of the Bologoye Station.

It was also the young people who drew the attention of the public to the calamitous state of the houses connected with the life of Dostoevsky. Once, on a winter Sunday, the lads conducted a carefully prepared excursion on foot to the addresses of Dostoevsky. Hundreds of people assembled for it. The 4-hour-long procession was concluded with a meeting. In the resolution that was adopted the demand was expressed to preserve the House No 11 on Vladimirskiy Prospekt, previously "condemned for demolition," with which the beginning of the literary fame of the great writer is connected, and the Shil House adjacent to Isaakiyevskiy Ploshchad, from where Dostoevsky was taken to prison in connection with the Petrashevtsy affair.

The same young people were the first ones to stand in the picket line for the "Angleterre." Yes, they inconvenienced some institutions, but they acted, as everyone understands, in the interests of the city, and this is the main thing. They did not violate any laws, on the contrary, they strove for the strict observance of legality, as in the Angleterre affair. And after the building of the hotel had already been demolished, a public post remained for more than 2 months at the square—signatures were collected in support of an appeal to investigate this case and to call the violators of the law to account. There were more than 20,000 signatures in support of this appeal!

I am trying to understand: But, really, did not something reprehensible take place? Did the young people perhaps depart from the norms of our society? Did they lose their ideological orientation? Did they deviate in their actions from the proclaimed course of the party? No, no.... It goes without saying, they have shortcomings, they were at times too categorical in their judgments, but their mistakes are hardly so significant as to be the reason for a negative reference.

Let us look more attentively—who are they, these restive contemporaries, who unexpectedly and uncommonly have appeared on the public scene? Aleksey Kovalev is fascinated by archaeology, loves poetry, and himself writes poetry. In April and in May he gave a report to his Komsomol organization on his work in regard to the protection of cultural monuments, both times, after heated arguments, they approved it. Sergey Vasilyev also has two great attachments—archaeology and literature. The architect Pavel Nikonov is a collaborator of the Lenzhilproyekt [Planning Institute of the Housing Administration of the Leningrad Gorispolkom], he is conducting research and is preparing a dissertation. The restorer Aleksandr Leontyev is working on the restoration of the famous Great Peterhof Palace. Tatyana Likhonova from the Society for the Preservation of Monuments has just completed, by correspondence, the Faculty of Journalism. A chemist by profession, Vadim Lurye is working in the Bumprom [Paper Industry] Association, knows a family of languages, is studying the history of Byzantium, writes poetry, and is conducting literary research on the history of Russian literature of

the 18th century. Katya Shershenevskaya is a staff member of the Library of the USSR Academy of Sciences and is studying the history of the Decembrist Movement. Vyacheslav Chebykin is a staff member of VSEGEI [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Geology], the head of a geological party. Rustam Gasanli is a construction worker, he is interested in architecture. The geophysicist Andrey Mostovskiy is older than all the rest, a member of the party, at work—the best in the profession, and the chairman of the trade union.

An interesting detail. There exists in the city the youth association "Mir," whose membership includes voluntary assistants of restoration. It is often given as an example: Here, they say, are people who do not hold endless meetings to no purpose, but save monument with their hands. Mostovskiy is one of the leaders of "Mir." And beginning in March, with the Angleterre events, both associations began to cooperate closely, to coordinate their actions through a public council for the ecology of culture.

To represent these lads as pernicious rowdies, who are only out to make noise and trouble in the streets, means to deliberately distort the essence of the facts. We have grown used to command the young people, we have deprived many of them of the will to independence, because it is more convenient to deal with obedient ones: Silence them—and they stand to attention. And suddenly the young people announce their right to take part in the examination of questions that concern the city, its history and its fate!... They demand that legality not be violated!

Because of this, evidently, the bureaucratic emotions became disturbed: There was the desire to straighten out the people taking an already too persistent part in public life, to compel them to be quiet, so that everything would remain as previously—quiet and calm. Otherwise it is difficult to explain what began already in May.

Only 3 weeks had passed, when the party obkom buro resounded with justified criticism of the bureaucratic apparatus, which did not want to decide the dispute with the young people in a democratic manner, and in *Vecherniy Leningrad* the article "To Shine and Reap" had already appeared, accusing the above-mentioned lads and the council of youth groups—of what do you think? No, I will not convey this in my own words, I will cite the original statements of the author of the article, S. Shevchuk. "And the leaders of the groups, the intellectual elite of the council, do not notice how they are gradually and at the same time swiftly transformed into some sort of almost fantastic superorgan, laying claim to general control and administration of the city...." "Exploiting its authority, the 'council' is striving to become some kind of force standing above the city, which would direct and regulate life in accordance with its own discretion...." And, finally, the accusation of "the continuation of the struggle, which became an end in itself—the struggle with the Leningrad gorispolkom!"

Poor gorispolkom.... It goes without saying, there were no facts and no arguments for these accusations, but on the other hand how much noise, how much desire to smear the movement of the young people, to antagonize the lads. The people of Leningrad were amazed. Indignant phone calls and letters rained down even on the correspondent center of *Izvestiya*, although the publication appeared in another newspaper. Workers, students, and specialists wrote.

Exactly during these days, a press conference in Smolnny was announced. One of the two questions—the position of young people in amateur associations. It occurred to me: Very much in time. It is time, at last, to investigate the improbably motley picture of youth groupings that have appeared recently, a number of which are not subjected to any accounting. On the wave of activeness, undesirable tendencies have also manifested themselves and phenomena of an almost criminal character have come to light. Even home-bred "national socialists" made themselves heard (recently *Leningradskaya Pravda* published extensive material about their acts). All of this should have been given a principled assessment. And at the same time the positive directions of the movement of the young people should have been supported and those should have been tactfully corrected who make absurd accusations against them, as in the article "To Shine and Reap." There could be no doubt: At the press conference, all this will be done—taking into account the assessments of the party obkom buro, keeping in mind that the officials now here, now there had begun to call the young people, who took part in the manifestations on the Isaakiyevskaya Ploshchad nothing more and nothing less than "anti-Soviet propagandists." In one of the schools, they branded a group of ninth graders headed by the Komsomol committee with this terrible word directly and across the board. In another case, the chief absolutely threw it into the face of a woman teacher. A capable fifth-year student, who joined the action of the "anti-Soviet propagandists" at the "Angleterre," had his offer concerning post-graduate study revoked. Nikolay Zhuravskiy, who, incidentally, had been responsible for the public post on the square, was dismissed from the Institute of Culture, where he was studying, by correspondence, when, in order for him to receive his diploma, only a single examination remained to be taken. They found a pretext: He is working in the Housing Trust as an electrician, but according to his reference he is a cultural worker.

It is clear that they settled accounts with the young people, and the article in the evening paper poured oil on the fire. Quite a lot could have been done at the press conference to eliminate these defects. And here, in the information statement, the article "To Shine and Reap" was called...an example of "a correct publication," which "makes it possible to understand the essence of the processes that have taken place," by the deputy department chief of the party obkom, L. Markin. From bad to worse. The basic object for the critical assessments, not corroborated by reliable facts, became, imagine, the

Group for the Salvation of Monuments. They declared it to be an "extreme" (?) group, they accused it of no longer being interested in the preservation of monuments. And as an example of the actions being condemned, the fact was cited that the group nominated Aleksey Kovalev as candidate for deputy of the Leningrad Soviet. Disapproval was sounded also apropos the fact that they elected Kovalev to the board of directors of the Leningrad organization of the Cultural Fund.

Unfortunately, A. Degtyarev, the secretary of the CPSU obkom, also did not keep to an objective position. Answering my question, he began to explain that the young people from the Group for the Salvation [of Monuments] are called "anti-Soviet propagandists," he said, not for nothing, since R., who at one time supposedly was sentenced for anti-Soviet activity, "collaborated for a short time" with them. In this explanation, too, everything proved to be a fiction, including the fact that the artist R. collaborated with the group.

One would like to think that what has been said is nevertheless only insufficient knowledge of the facts, which has still not overcome the inclination for actions according to the principle "pull and not set in motion." But in that case, the very idea of press conferences, which are called upon to be an instrument of openness, is belittled. You see, every word here has a special price. Something is not clear—one could invite those who are best acquainted with the situation. But, it is a pity, there did not turn out to be a properly informed interlocutor then. As a result—the defects in the assessments were not removed, on the contrary, they were intensified.

One deviation from the truth generates another. Since the article in the evening paper received such a flattering review, the author of another paper, without having investigated, took a quote from "To Shine and Reap," supplemented it with the words "talk querulously" and "search everywhere for conspirators" and made the Leningrad youth group out to be some kind of local branch of the notorious "Pamyat" Society (cf. A. Cherkizov, "On Genuine Values and Imaginary Enemies," in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 13 June of this year). But, you see, Leningrad, and about this one must also talk, has a "Pamyat" Association of its own, which is not registered, but is active. Incidentally, its activists in every conceivable way look after and try to attract into their ranks the boys who have gone through military service in Afghanistan. A fact that is worth thinking about. As far as the group is concerned about which I am writing, it still last fall refused any cooperation with "Pamyat," and its actions and ideological conceptions were criticized by Aleksey Kovalev at the council of the Center for Creative Initiative already at a time when not a single critical article had appeared in the press.

Nevertheless, they put still another label on the people, they tied them precisely to the grouping which had already compromised itself in the eyes of the public. Why? In whose interests was this?

I cannot resign myself to the fact that they try to represent people who are worthy of respect and, believe it, are respected by the people of Leningrad, as renegades of some sort and almost opponents of our society. And everything, I repeat, only because they began to try to achieve in deed genuinely new democratic solutions to questions that are close to all, as this is required by the science of living in conditions of democracy.

No, not pointless were the apprehensions of the readers, including people of Leningrad, participants in the blockade, and war veterans, who already in the first responses expressed alarm about the favorable outcome, for the young people, of their civic impulse, which carried them away to Isaakiyevskaya Ploshchad. "Is it possible the youth is suffering from persecutions and trials?" wrote a secondary school teacher and recipient of a merit pension, T. Dmitriyeva. "We are obliged to protect it from persecutions and humiliations."

In a conversation about the manifestations on Isaakiyevskaya Ploshchad, Academician D. Likhayev spoke the following words: "We have complained about the lack of civic activeness among the young people. And here it appeared. Moreover, in the best manner—both in terms of essence and in terms of form. What is here to be frightened of? Is it not better to think about how to make use of the source of energy that has opened up for good purposes?" Wise and in its essence the party approach. "To make use of for good purposes..."

Here I am thinking: What a fuss there was so that the nomination of Kovalev as a candidate would prove to be invalid.... But perhaps it would have been worthwhile to support this nomination? Perhaps it would have been worthwhile to assemble all these lads, to talk with them seriously? If they are mistaken—dissuade them, if they talk sense—support them. Yes, unusual, yes, not simple. But today, all the same, there is no other way.

Instead of this, some people hurry to carry lads who are really capable of good deeds off to the camp of "alien elements." Where will this lead us?

If we are, indeed, in one boat and on the same side of the barricade, and if not only rosy romantics, who rejoiced that breathing has become easier, but also all of us are ready to proceed along one road, the only road of restructuring, which history has left us as a way out of stagnation, then the time has come to put an end even to attempts to defame those who see something or do not speak "as prescribed," who manifest independence in their assessment of decisions that have been adopted. We must put a stop, finally, to the hanging on of labels, remembering the



product of an individual as the party requires of him the habit of commanding people, like pawns.

Not only the oarsmen, but also the pilots must not lose the feeling of responsibility for the vital inevitability of being in one boat.

08970/6091

### Central Legal Officials Criticize Work of Turkmen Procuracy

18000792a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No 6, Jun 87 [signed to press 21 May 87] pp 6-8

[Article by V. Ilyukhin, deputy chief of the Main Investigative Administration of the USSR Procuracy: "The Style of Work Must Be Changed"]

[Text] It is well known how severely deviations from the norms of party life and violations of socialist law in the Uzbek SSR were condemned at the 27th CPSU Congress. Account padding, theft, and squandering of the people's property, for the most part involving the cultivation and processing of cotton, was widespread there. It would seem that a strict principled evaluation of violations committed would serve as a serious lesson and warning to workers in other Union republics where cotton production occupies one of the leading places in the economy. But, unfortunately, this has not occurred.

In November 1986 a brigade of workers of the USSR Procuracy headed by the Deputy General Procurator of the USSR S. Shishkov checked on compliance with the laws on protecting socialist property in the Turkmen SSR. The results proved to be alarming. Neither economic managers nor law enforcement organs have yet carried out fundamental restructuring in the protection of socialist property.

The inspection was a comprehensive one and revealed shortcomings in various sectors of activity of the Turkmen SSR procuracy organs.

As before formalism is being tolerated, a critical evaluation of final results is not being given, and persistence in timely realistic elimination of violations of the law is not being shown. The main directions of procuracy activity have not always been correctly defined. The adoption of really necessary measures has been replaced by various conferences, excessive paperwork, and petty documents as procuracy responses.

The attitude toward safeguarding the people's property, which has been unsatisfactory for a number of years, has been revealed. The struggle against theft, account padding, mismanagement, and low-quality output is being waged half-heartedly.

nondepartmental monitoring organs alone amounted to about 20 million rubles. Losses from theft, shortages, and spoilage of material as well as in the economy rose from 1 to 18 million rubles in the last 5 years.

The production of low-quality or nonstandard output is widespread. The sum of economic sanctions applied against bad workmen amounted to about 3 million rubles in the first 9 months of last year.

A particularly unfavorable situation has become established in the agroindustrial complex system, in particular in the procurement and processing of raw cotton. An analysis of the numerous official audit documents for cotton processing plants and other documents as well as criminal files shows that material damages exceeding 100 million rubles have been sustained by the state through mismanagement, account padding, and theft in delivering and processing cotton. In 1986 more than 18,000 hectares of fields of cotton were concealed from records.

And what is particularly alarming—decisive measures to prevent mismanagement and fraud in the agroindustrial complex have not been taken in practice for a number of years.

As a result a situation has been created which the republic Procuracy and the law enforcement organs as a whole were unable to change relying only on their own efforts. The intervention of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee and the USSR Procuracy was required. Investigators and workers from the internal affairs organs and inspectors from other regions of the country were sent to Turkmenistan.

What are the specific reasons for such a sad state of affairs?

One might say that it occurred as a result of many economic managers' disinclination to safeguard the people's property, the neglect of record keeping of commodity stocks, and the poor quality of work by monitoring and auditing services. In addition to this, serious miscalculations in selecting and placing personnel were allowed in the republic.

In the conditions which have become established procuracy supervision has also not proven to be at a high level. At times procurators have simply sat idle even though violations of the law were scandalous and undisguised. This applies above all to general supervision work. The timely and complete arrival of information and materials from the monitoring and financial organs was not insured. And what did come was analyzed superficially. Document audits were as a rule not required from economic organizations and departments and if they were they were returned without any response. They were not verified and the reasons for enormous losses were not identified.

rubles were discovered from losses of cotton. However, in a few months the chief of the general supervision department returned the documents to the cotton industry association without conducting inspections.

Our brigade in Mary, Ashkhabad, and Chardzhou oblasts identified more than 40 unexamined audit materials which calculated damages sustained in the tens of millions of rubles. Nonetheless, the monitoring-auditing organs did not deem it necessary to inform the rayon procurators of the cases of fraud discovered and concealed theft and shortages.

And certain rayon procurators did not inconvenience themselves with concerns about discovering the real state of affairs and did not show the least initiative in identifying an antistate attitude toward the people's property. Thus, on the day of the inspection the procurators of Ashkhabadskiy Rayon in Ashkhabad Oblast and of the Deynauskii and Sayatskiy rayons in Chardzhou Oblast had no idea of the account padding going on (even though it was widespread).

The workers in the Turkmen SSR Procuracy apparatus repeatedly made on-site inspections, but did not discover shortages and did not demand appropriate performance of official obligations by rayon procurators. The wrong practice has taken root where regular workers, and rarely members of the collegium, frequently headed the brigades in making on-site inspections. But the chief of the general supervision department of the republic's Procuracy was not at rayon or even oblast procuracy offices once in all of 1986. Can it really be that we allow such leadership style today?

Procurator supervision has seriously lessened over the activities of internal affairs organs, particularly the BKhSS [Combating the Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] office, which has completely failed to identify and stop account padding, mismanagement, and other costly infringements.

Almost all the criminal proceedings involving the procurement of cotton were instituted on the basis of the data from audits rather than from materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, although hundreds of persons to whom false payment documents were made out were involved in the theft.

The procuracy did not discover the reasons for this inertia in time and did not pose the question of the responsibility of the management workers of the internal affairs organs.

The role of the investigative apparatus remains small in stopping infringements on socialist property. One cannot say here that the investigators did not send theft and bribery cases to the courts. But what cases? We looked at

tion in those spheres of economic life where the state sustained millions of rubles worth of damages were concealed by the quantitative indicators of reports.

Criminal proceedings for cotton shortages were frequently instituted at a very late date. The pretrial investigation was conducted with a lot of red tape and almost half the proceedings on account padding were halted for various reasons.

The criminal proceedings on a case of a 350,000 ruble shortage of raw cotton at the Sayat Cotton Plant in Chardzhou Oblast were instituted back in December 1979 and no final decision has yet been made on it. A simple case of a shortage of wool at the Mary Primary Processing Plant has been under investigation since December 1983.

Only one case of low-quality output has been sent to the courts in the past 2 years and it was returned for further investigation and then dismissed. Flagrant red tape has been allowed on other cases as well.

Exhaustive measures to compensate for damages are not taken during the investigation. For cases of mismanagement damages for 8-15 percent of them are compensated and for theft—30-45 percent.

The practice of investigating criminal cases of account padding in cotton procurement in Uzbekistan has been ignored in the republic as have individual cases of this category which were investigated in the past in Turkmenia itself. In Tashauz Oblast the courts made wrong decisions on 12 cases. The verdicts given on them were set aside only after the intervention of the USSR Procuracy and the cases were returned for further investigation. Now verdicts have been given on most of them after a detailed and comprehensive investigation. Those guilty were justifiably convicted not for negligence as before but for bribery, account padding, and theft running into hundreds of thousands of rubles.

The oblast procurators and the investigative administration of the republic Procuracy did not deeply scrutinize the course of the investigation on cases of account padding and shortages of cotton and did not stop violations of the law promptly.

The fact that at the Chardzhou Oblast procuracy the letter from the USSR Procuracy on organizing a review of investigators' work was appended to the order with virtually no action taken is also evidence of the unsatisfactory organization of investigation. The chief of the investigative department and his deputy did not know about the review. The workers of the procuracies of Sayatskiy and Daynauskii rayons were also not informed about the letter.

The final results of procuracy activity and the real reinforcement of the law depend in many respects on how performance discipline is observed.

How did matters stand there? Not good. There were many shortcomings in the organization and planning of the work of the Turkmen SSR Procuracy and the oblast procuracies on monitoring the activities of city and rayon procurators.

Inspections were rare and shortcomings were not revealed, their organization and conduct were not always well thought-out, and a sense of responsibility and discipline had not been formed in those being inspected. For example, eight associates of the Mary Oblast Procuracy came right to the inspection at the Iolotanskiy Rayon procuracy made up of three people. The information was compiled on sheets abounding in statistical data and examples. But the information did not include a detailed analysis, evaluation of procuracy supervision, or its organization and influence on the state of affairs in the region. The suggestions of the inspectors were reduced to nonbinding, nonpersonalized formulations to "strengthen, activize, improve, and raise to a new level."

It must be said that the collegia of the procuracies did not have the proper influence on increasing the quality of procuracy supervision. Frequently cases of violations of legality were only established, but instead of taking decisive steps to eliminate them they held meetings and discussions and sent various kinds of documents to the local areas. Moreover, fulfillment of the decisions that were adopted was poorly monitored.

The republic procurator and his deputies and the procurators of the Ashkhabad, Tashauz, Mary, and Chardzhou oblasts and members of the collegia displayed intolerable slowness and indifference in this situation. And on the whole self-complacency and no critical analysis of work results are characteristic of the management workers of the republic's procuracy organs. As usual formal indicators on the number of measures and inspections carried out and criminal cases investigated serve as the main criterion for evaluating the work of subordinate procuracies.

The task of the brigade of workers from the USSR Procuracy included not only checking up on activity to protect socialist property but also giving practical assistance and taking measures to eliminate the shortcomings identified.

The materials of the inspection carried out by the workers of the USSR Procuracy were discussed at a meeting of the Turkmen SSR Procuracy collegium and meetings of the collegia and conferences at the procuracies of Mary, Tashauz, Chardzhou, and Ashkhabad oblasts. The second secretary of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee took part in the work of the republic Procuracy collegium. On the basis of the materials of the inspection, the republic's procurator made a statement to the minister of internal affairs. Certain secretaries of obkoms and raykoms of the party were informed of the state of preservation of state property.

The members of the brigade visited labor collectives at enterprises and organizations and received citizens and resolved complaints. In Ashkhabad they had a meeting with the managers and chiefs of the OTK's [quality control departments] of certain enterprises where they discussed the task of preventing production of low-quality output. The report on the meeting was broadcast on television. In Mary Oblast a conference was held with managers of the oblast monitoring-auditing and law enforcement organs and the organs of people's control and agroprom. The chief editor of the oblast paper took part in the conference (the information report on the conference was published in the paper).

The investigative administration of the republic Procuracy along with the oblast procurators and workers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs examined questions of organizing an inquiry on cases of account padding which occurred during the procurement of cotton. During the inspection six proceedings based on the audit materials for cotton plants were instituted and several illegal orders by investigators were rescinded.

The results of the brigade's work were reported in detail on republic television and in the republic newspaper.

During their short stay in Turkmenia flagrant omissions and shortcomings were revealed and particular measures to eliminate them were taken. But can it be that the republic's Procuracy could not have independently done the same thing and begun to sound the alarm without expecting intervention? It could have and it should have. There was not enough of a principled and party-minded approach to evaluating the events taking place and not enough resolve in protecting state interests.

In January of the current year the materials from the inspection were examined at the collegium of the USSR Procuracy. Taking into account the serious violations of legality and the inability of certain managers to introduce the proper order, the leadership of the procuracies of the Turkmen SSR and Tashauz Oblast was reinforced.



everything which has been said, the conclusion may be drawn that the Turkmen SSR procuracy organs must resolutely change their style of work, increase the efficiency of supervision, and combine the efforts of the law enforcement organs in order to create a reliable barrier to various infringements on the people's property.

But is it only the procuracy of this republic? Unfortunately, similar cases of unsuitable safeguarding of state and public property have been discovered in the other regions of the country as well.

Based on this, the collegium of the USSR Procuracy deemed it necessary to instruct the procurators of the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Union republics to check on the reliability of the reflection in state reports of the fulfillment of plans to procure cotton and other agricultural output and to identify the causes of losses that occurred.

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### **Uzbek VUZ Social Science Work 'Ineffective,' 'Weak'**

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[Article by A. Golovanov, director of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education's Administration for Instruction in the Social Sciences: "VUZ Social Scientists' Lofty Calling"]

[Text] Social scientists are called upon to make a substantial contribution to accomplishment of the strategic objectives set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress with regard to the attainment of a new state of Soviet society. At the congress, emphasis was placed on their responsibility for the development of the theory of socialist and communist construction and the creative interpretation of new phenomena and processes.

Precise guidelines for the work of social scientists were defined at the All-Union Conference of the Heads of Social Science Departments (October 1986). Their attention is directed toward the practical solution of major problems defined by the genuinely revolutionary nature of our times. "Theoretical work itself," said M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the conference, "is becoming one of the extremely important motive forces of socialist and communist construction and an extremely important tool of restructuring." Specific paths for the development of thought in the social sciences found reflection in

called on to make a growing contribution to accomplishment of the tasks the party has set in the area of the social sciences. Today the social-science corps of the Uzbek SSR's institutions of higher education consists of more than 2,000 instructors. More than 100 doctors of sciences and professors and over 1,000 candidates of sciences and docents work in the republic's 202 social science departments.

This represents a great research, intellectual and educational potential. Unfortunately, it is being utilized inefficiently. This was discussed at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee's Third Plenum (October 1986) and at the Republic Conference of Social Scientists that was held on 17 January 1987. An unhypocritical appraisal of the state of affairs in this area forces us to look again and again at the content of the work of VUZ social scientists and analyze its main parameters.

First of all, it is necessary to note that a number of research works are distinguished by the "mastication" of textbook maxims. They are characterized by a fear of the new, dogmatism and scholasticism.

VUZ social scientists are to a significant extent divorced from living practice. Take, for example, the list of the topics of research done by the departments of Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Uzbekistan's major instructional-methods and research center—Tashkent State University imeni V. I. Lenin. It includes such problems as "Categories of Epistemology," "The General Scientific Categories and Principles of Scientific Cognition," "The Concept of the Law in Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" and "The Concept of the Base and Superstructure in the Category Structure of Historical Materialism." Of course, these problems have the right to be thoroughly studied. But the investigation of them, as a rule, comes down solely to the theoretical clarification of countless definitions. And the important current problems of our surrounding life (the struggle against negative phenomena, interpretation of the reasons for the social passivity of certain groups of young people, and others) are missing from the list of topics. The specific socioeconomic features of Uzbekistan, its development under present-day conditions, and the ways of improving the economy and elevating the perceived spiritual requirements of the working people, schoolchildren and young students, for example—all this should define the research work of VUZ social scientists.

In our view, one reason for the poor efficiency of research is its lack of coordination. The course of the fulfillment of social-science departments' research plans is not discussed at coordination centers, instructional seminar-conferences involving department heads and researchers are not conducted, and communications are

not maintained with administrators of the base departments, as a result of which many of them show no initiative and, to all intents and purposes, do nothing.

The lack of clear-cut coordination has resulted in the fact that trivial research topics, duplication and the scattering of research forces have by no means been done away with everywhere, and negligence exists in the planning of research and selection of topics. For example, on the list of topics involving comprehensive research problems in the history of the CPSU there are almost no works devoted to the scientific interpretation of the experience of the republic party organization in combating negative phenomena, and there is no research on the criticism of bourgeois falsifiers of the party's history and policies. Although topics have been defined in the Departments of the History of the CPSU at Tashkent and Samarkand state universities and the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, instructors are working on topics that are only weakly linked to the general problem.

The number of instructors who do no research whatsoever is still substantial in social science departments. Up until the defense of their dissertations many of them work fruitfully, but after receiving their scholarly degree they produce no research output. Thus, of 10 instructors in the Department of Philosophy at the Tashkent Electrical Engineering Institute of Telecommunications, only three have published works. Little publishing is done by instructors at the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, the Tashkent Institute of the Textile Industry and Light Industry, the Central Asian Institute of Medical Pediatrics, the Tashkent State Institute of Culture, the Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, the Samarkand State Architectural and Construction Institute and other VUZes. In 20 of the republic's 42 institutions of higher education there is not a single doctor of sciences or professor among the social science instructors.

Despite the fact that a number of departments have been doing research on the basis of economic contracts, only the first timid steps have been taken in this direction. This form has not received widespread adoption: only 10 percent of the social science departments are working on topics based on economic contracts.

Substantial shortcomings exist in VUZ graduate studies. The rector's offices and administrators of social science departments still do not show sufficient concern for identifying those who are most capable of graduate studies, as a result of which in recent years there has been practically no competition for admission to graduate studies. Cases are known in which persons who lack the appropriate basic education and are theoretically unprepared become graduate students. Department administrators take an irresponsible attitude toward the placement in jobs of students who have completed resident graduate studies.

The organization of students' research work is poorly handled. It is no accident that only 112 of the 470 abstracts presented in 1985 for the third round of the All-Union Competition of Student Works received satisfactory marks.

At the present time, when the developing restructuring is providing an important social commission to the whole system of the social sciences, it should be recalled that the party stance of social science instructors is defined not by the ability to adapt themselves to established views but by the ability to scientifically interpret the changes that have come due in society. It is necessary to overcome the remoteness of research from the needs of life and to resolutely turn it toward practice. In every social science department an atmosphere of creative exploration should reign. To a significant extent the accomplishment of these tasks can be fostered by debates and discussions, which are effective methods of augmenting scientific knowledge.

It is important for department administrators to analyze research topics from the new positions and to bring them into accord with present-day requirements. For example, is it a good idea for the staffs of small departments to work on major comprehensive problems? Perhaps it would be a good idea to attach the instructors in these departments to higher schools that are concerned with similar problems, or to recommend that they maintain closer creative ties with the leading departments of central and republic VUZes.

Social scientists' main task, it was noted at the All-Union Conference of the Heads of Social Science Departments, is the training of specialists who are armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, able to apply it in practice, and capable of thinking and acting innovatively. It is precisely VUZ social scientists who bear responsibility for the formation of young students' scientific world view and spiritual foundations, their active stance toward life and civic position, and their ability to orient themselves in the present complex and, in many respects, contradictory world. The task is to bring young people up in the glorious revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the party and people, and to instill in future specialists a sense of patriotic pride in the progress of Soviet science and technology and in the lofty trademark of Soviet products.

And in this respect the idea expressed at the All-Union Conference to the effect that today, when the party has called on people to think and work in a new way, it is also necessary to construct the educational process in a new way sounds especially timely. The point is not to repudiate the existing system of studies in the social sciences. What is needed is something else: a radical improvement of the quality and effectiveness of instruction. In the universities and institutes it is necessary to revive the cult of learning, of serious, in-depth work on the attainment of truth and acquisition of new knowledge.

How can a positive change be realized? First of all it is necessary to resolutely abandon the forms and methods of instruction in the social sciences that give rise to dogmatism and scholasticism, and to turn every lesson into a school of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems of the present day. To this end, curriculums are already being revised. They are being based on dialectics and the living practice of socialism. Also on the agenda is the elimination of differentiation, which has gotten carried away too far, in social science instruction, and the formation in young people of an integral notion of Marxist-Leninist theory. A great deal remains to be done to improve lectures, textbooks and methods handbooks.

Boredom, cramming and empty verbiage frequently reign in lectures and seminars today. Classes are often informational in nature. Sometimes even the instructors themselves poorly understand the content of the instructional material. And this is no accident. After all, more than 30 percent of them lack the appropriate basic education: it is not all that rare for philosophy to be taught by philologists and scientific communism by geographers and linguists.

In speaking of restructuring in the VUZ social sciences, three basic areas of it must be singled out. The first is restructuring in the theoretical sphere. The main thing here is ensuring an organic tie between the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and life, the practice of communist construction, and implementation of the CPSU's strategic course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and attaining a new qualitative state of socialist society. The life-giving ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's January (1987) Plenum, the essence of the changes that are being made and the necessity of them must be conveyed to every student, and every student must be made an interested participant in this process. Restructuring in the theoretical sphere also presupposes the restructuring of instructors' and students' thinking.

A second factor of no small importance is restructuring of the organization of the educational process and its content. It is necessary to accustom young people to make independent judgments and develop in them the ability to carry on a scientific debate and cogently defend their convictions. It is necessary to abandon the practices of cramming students to pass a test or exam and conveying bare information to them, and to work toward their independent mastery of revolutionary theory and active use of the knowledge they have acquired in their professional activities.

The only way that these goals can be achieved is by turning toward the living issues of life, overcoming the gap between words and deeds, and eliminating the truth deficit. In classes it is necessary to talk about the problems that concern students and not to be afraid of controversial topics raised by them. Dialogue, not monologue, should become the necessary element in a genuinely creative process of education. "We need," noted

M. S. Gorbachev in his speech to the All-Union Conference of the Heads of Social Science Departments, "for the Marxist-Leninist convictions of young people to be the result of profound reflections, explorations and joyous finds, if you will, and discoveries—at least for themselves. Only then do convictions become inner, personally recognized convictions that have been suffered through, which means genuinely stable convictions that help them live and work."

Finally, the third sphere of the restructuring of the educational process is improvement of the forms and methods of social science instruction and the enrichment of instructional methods in every way possible. Considerable untapped potential for raising the effectiveness of instruction lies in taking the specialization of a VUZ school and nature of young specialists' future work into account and ensuring the active interaction of all types of students' learning activity.

An important task for social science instructors is to enhance the role of lectures as the main means of directing the educational process. They should be conceptual and methodological in nature, elucidate key and problematical issues of theory and the fundamental tasks of social development and the CPSU's domestic and foreign policies, and define the areas, methods and means of students' independent work in the study of primary sources and educational and scholarly literature.

Seminars occupy a special place in the educational process. Now, according to the new curriculums, they are allocated about two-thirds of class time. This makes it necessary to radically revise the practice of organizing them. Seminars are called on to become the most effective form of firmly reinforcing students' knowledge and developing their creative abilities. In this connection it is especially important to ensure a close interaction of students' independent work with seminars and to widely introduce into the practice of conducting seminars such active forms and methods of instruction as discussions, business games, the analysis of realistic problem situations (the historical situation, socioeconomic relations, etc.), the solution of problems stemming from these situations, the discussions of reports and abstracts, and the critical analysis of non-Marxist theories and concepts. Serious attention in seminars should be devoted to the development in future specialists of the skills of public speaking, the techniques of debate, and the ability to persuasively defend communist ideals and apply the dialectical-materialist method in professional and public work.

A certain experience in applying the new methods of intensive instruction has been gained in the republic's VUZes. But unfortunately, with the exception of the Department of the History of the CPSU of the humanities and social science divisions of Tashkent State University, extremely rare use is made of technical devices. The number of specialized lecture halls equipped with



up-to-date audiovisual equipment is extremely limited. The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is presently seeking ways to solve this problem.

The radical restructuring of upbringing work and enhancement of the ideological influence of social scientists on young people who are students is an urgent task. The negative phenomena and shortcomings in the upbringing process that have accumulated in Uzbekistan's VUZes in recent years must be analyzed as thoroughly as possible. And it must be said, there are plenty of them.

In order to further improve the communist upbringing of students in light of the requirements of the 27th Party Congress, the republic Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is providing for the implementation of a set of measures aimed at enhancing the ideological-upbringing functions of social science departments, overcoming the divorce that has developed between ideological work and the real problems of training personnel and the tasks of social development, and utilizing nontraditional forms of conducting a candid dialogue with young VUZ students. An important place among these measures belongs to those aimed at strengthening the ideological and moral orientation of students' learning, labor and public activities. In this connection the main task is to place at the center of upbringing work the individual approach to the formation of the future specialist's personality.

The question of individualizing upbringing requires serious reflection. It is important here to reach every student not in a pro forma but in an essential fashion, to identify the strong and weak aspects of his character and social orientation, and to determine his everyday surroundings. And then on the basis of the sociopsychological characteristics that have been drawn up, a program must be outlined for his spiritual elevation and the strengthening of his positive and combating of his negative qualities and properties. The study of students by means of questionnaires, and individual and group discussions can be of great help in implementing the principle of the individual approach.

The personality of the person engaged in upbringing has a profound influence on the subject of upbringing. If an instructor, for example, speaks in his lectures about the principles of social justice but disregards or violates them in his everyday life, no matter what pedagogical methods he resorts to, they will be useless. The person engaging in upbringing should himself be the product of upbringing. And here self-upbringing and the educator's ability to constantly evaluate himself and his activities critically are called on to play a special role.

An extremely important potential for strengthening upbringing work lies in the close cooperation among VUZ departments of the social, natural and technical sciences in the development of students' scientific world

view, enhancement of the philosophical orientation of the entire educational process, and the study on an elective basis of timely issues in the theory and history of our country's and world culture. Broad use must be made in social science instruction of the upbringing possibilities of lectures, belles lettres, art, cinema and television.

A tremendous reserve for young people's spiritual growth lies in their association with instructors and leading scholars in the course of research. Social scientists should make fuller use for these purposes of student research societies and circles, problem groups and seminars, theoretical conferences and other forms of students' research work for the purpose of developing in them the ability to creatively apply the Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing and evaluating events, phenomena and trends in social life, and the habits of doing so.

Finally, a number of questions pertaining to the training and upbringing of students cannot be resolved without the development of student self-government, in which the Komsomol organization is called on to play the role of the main motive force. This is especially timely in light of the policy of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of gradually eliminating the institution of class curator. Students themselves must decide many questions pertaining the educational, social, and spiritual and ideological spheres of their collectives' life. Life will show how this will be realized. But social science instructors should already help the VUZ Komsomol to fully master the skills of self-government and ability to utilize the norms of democracy, not to be afraid of showing initiative, to overcome formalism, and to organize students' rational use of their free time for the purposes of the all-round harmonious development of the personality, the establishment of the norms and traditions of a healthy, cultured and sober lifestyle, and the overcoming in the student milieu of the antitheses of such a lifestyle, of consumerist urges and philistine morals, and of the pollution of alcoholism and drug abuse. This work requires not so much means as interest, inventiveness and initiative on the part of all workers on the ideological front.

A certain amount of experience along these lines has been accumulated by social scientists at the Andizhan Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, and the Tashkent Institute of the Textile Industry and Light Industry. But so far only the first steps have been taken. Even here the chronic diseases of formalism and excessive organization have not been overcome. As a rule, attention is focused mainly on prestigious activities and increasing the number of them, while the student, his needs and requirements frequently fall outside the organizers' field of vision.

Party committees have been providing tangible assistance in restructuring the work of VUZ social scientists, but this help should be enhanced. There are a good many

untapped reserves here. Thus, in recent years extremely rare use has been made of special meetings between party executive personnel and VUZ social scientists. It might be said that the conferences of social science department instructors conducted by oblast and city party committees have fallen into decline. VUZ social scientists practically receive no information from the appropriate competent agencies on the problems of the ideological struggle in the international arena. They have no concrete data on drug abuse or the religious situation in a given city or rayon.

In our view, the fact that instructors in the republic's higher and secondary specialized schools do not have their own publication is a great omission. In this respect, employees in the system of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Education are in a more advantageous position. They can share their experience, express urgent questions and raise timely problems regarding the upbringing and education of the younger generation in the pages of the newspaper UCHITEL' UZBEKISTANA and the magazine SOVET MAKTABI. The establishment of similar publications for the employees of VUZes and technicums has become an urgent necessity. With their help it would be possible to accumulate and publicize proven advanced practices in organizing educational, upbringing and research work, and to wage a resolute struggle against everything that interferes with accelerated progress along the path of restructuring.

VUZ social scientists are entrusted with an important sector of ideological and political upbringing work that in many respects determines the development of Soviet society's spiritual potential. To train specialists who have a good mastery of the science of communism, are able to apply it in practice, and are devoted to the party's great cause—such is the social commission of the times.

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### Changing Trends in Family Structure, Divorce Noted

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[Review by P.I. Shlemin of book "The Family—A Demographic Study" [Semya—Obyekt demografii] by A.G. Volkov, Moscow, Mysl Publishing House, 1986, 271 pages]

[Text] The family, as defined by the author, is "a union of people based upon marriage or consanguinity and bound by a common way of life and mutual responsibility" (see page 20). Statistically, the family is characterized by familial ties, joint residence, and a shared means of livelihood.

Nine-tenths of the USSR population live in families. Approximately 30 million people live outside the context of family life. The proportion of single persons and family members residing separately from their families amounts to 11 percent of the citizens in small and medium-sized cities and 14 percent of those in large cities. The percentage of persons living outside of the family varies from 5 to 8 percent in Central Asia and the Caucasus and from 12 to 17 percent in the European part of the country (pages 48-49). Two-thirds of those living in families are more than 20 years of age. Two-fifths of the single city-dwellers consist of youths and as many again are elderly or aged, whereas three-fourths of those living without families in rural areas are made up of the elderly and aged.

It is estimated by projection that by 1986 USSR families numbered about 72 million (in 1959 there were more than 50 million families, and in 1979 there were 66.3 million) (page 52). Eighty percent of these families are concentrated in urban areas (page 52). During the period from 1959 to 1979 the country's population grew by 26 percent, while the number of families grew by 32 percent (pages 53-54), indicating a reduction in the average size of families.

The clear-cut significance of city size in the statistics, according to 1979 census data, is shown by families consisting of 7 or more persons: in towns with fewer than 5,000 residents such families amount to 3.6 percent, while in cities of 500,000 or more they amount to 1.4 percent (page 58). The proportion of families consisting of two or three people increases with city size, but this increase is irregular. "This confirms the inadequacy of having only one index of city size in differentiating demographic processes in the context of an urban population" (page 58).

Before the war the most widespread family type in rural areas consisted of four persons, whereas at the present time it consists of two persons—a change brought about by the outflow of youth and the aging of the rural population. Nevertheless families of seven persons or more in rural areas constitute 9.3 percent of the population as opposed to 2.4 percent in urban areas (page 58). There has been a marked trend toward an increase in the proportion of large rural families over the past 20 years.

The predominant type of family in both urban and rural areas is the simple or nuclear family consisting of spouses with or without children. Such families constitute about 84 percent, and one-fifth of the families include in addition parents of the spouses and other relatives (page 61). About half of the total additional growth of families during the period from 1970 to 1978 occurred in families of two or three persons, and these for the most part were made up of married couples and mothers with children. The proportion of married couples living with their parents varies from 12 percent in Moldavia to 32 percent in Tajikistan (page 62). Generally "various reproduction patterns are developing and

various types of family structure" (page 68). Altogether, 71 percent of males and 58 percent of females above the age of 16 are now married; 24 percent of males and 10 percent of females have never been married; and 5 percent of the males and 26 percent of the females are widowed, separated or divorced (page 75).

Contemporary marriage has "grown" noticeably younger. According to the USSR population census for 1979, 89 percent of males and 90 percent of females entered into their first marriage by the age of 31. In the age group from 50 to 59, 1.2 percent of the males had never married (page 119). The tendency toward younger marriages, in the judgment of the author, is a mixed blessing inasmuch as a number of the young people marry before becoming independent, remaining under the care of their parents.

Since the 1960's the total number of divorces has grown more rapidly than the divorce rate. This growth is largely attributable to an increase in the size of the population and the number of married couples. During the period 1959-1970 the number of married couples grew by 19.3 million, an increase of 22 percent; whereas during the period 1970-1979 it grew by 16.8 million, an increase of 16 percent (page 131). The increase in the number of young marriages "accounts for about a third of the growth in the annual number of divorces, but the other two-thirds is attributable to the rise in the frequency of divorce" (page 132).

Marriages entered into during the years 1970 and 1975 were dissolved in the first 3 years of married life twice as often as marriages entered into in the year 1960 (page 140). To a significant extent this is due to simplifying the procedure of dissolving marriages in 1966. The dynamics of divorce differ with respect to marriages of varying durations. The most significant increase in the frequency of divorce was characteristic of marriages of relatively short duration. Nevertheless, there has been a marked reduction in the frequency of divorce which has stabilized in recent years.

The least stable marriages are those entered into at a very early as well as elderly age. In the first case, the lack of social maturity and economic independence are influential factors; in the second case, experience of a first marriage with its unfulfilled expectations coupled with the difficulties of adaptation on the part of people with fully established characters. "On the average, the divorce rate of subsequent marriages is 75 percent higher than that of first marriages" (page 147). According to one calculation, divorces reduce the birthrate by 25 percent, while being widowed reduces it by 7 percent; according to others, both of these factors reduce the birthrate by 8 percent (page 149). In the opinion of the author, "it is scarcely plausible to attribute the reductions in the birthrate to a weakening of family stability as it is to consider the growth of divorce to be the cause of having few children. Evidently, both factors are sides of the same coin and related to the fact that the family itself has

changed" (page 151). Nevertheless, the author believes there is no foundation for concluding that there is a crisis in the family. Similarly, the relatively high frequency of divorce cannot be attributed to "overly liberal" laws. Familial marital relations in the USSR are founded upon principles of lofty humanism, upon sentiments of mutual respect, and upon an awareness of mutual responsibility for the other person. With regard to this process, what is taking place in the area of family marital relations is nothing other than the creative tension that is the price of continuing development.

Tension in the evolving family does not lie, as alleged, in a lack of harmony with the interests of society. The heart of the matter is that at the social level, and at the level of family existence, there is a disparity between needs and the possibility of their satisfaction. Each family is right in trying to decide which needs should first be satisfied. It is inexpedient to limit the range of choice. Expanding the possibilities of choice presupposes in particular, that the family have at its disposal the means to refrain from bearing children and to postpone childbirth until the conditions are suitable" (page 252). Allegations of a weakening or the disappearance of a desire for children are not supported by the facts. Commencing in the 1980's "there has been a rise not only in the number of births, brought about perhaps by advantageous changes in the age structure, but also in their frequency" (page 255). In the judgment of the author a decisive factor in the rise has been a general improvement in the psychological climate surrounding family relations and their problems together with the introduction of lump-sum grants attending the birth of the first three children.

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### **Psychologists Discuss Work With Alcoholism, Drug Addiction**

*Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
3 Jun 87 p 3*

[Interview with Professor A. Ye. Lichko, honored scientist of the RSFSR; Yu.V. Popov, deputy director for Science of the Leningrad Scientific-Research Psychoneurology Institute imeni V. M. Bekhterev; Yu.Ya. Tupitsyn, chief psychotherapist of Leningrad; and A.Ya.Grinenko, chief narcologist of the Leningrad Oblast Health Department by T. Syrenko; date and place of interview not specified: ["In Alliance with a Psychologist]

[Text] The assault now underway against alcoholism and drug addiction has demanded an unusually large scale and application of efforts, but has also identified problems and weak spots. One of our reserves in combating those problems is the recruitment of medical psychologists into the field of narcology. One of the gaps in that effort is the shortage of such personnel and their lack of



sufficient special training. This was the topic of a discussion held at the Leningrad Scientific-Research Psychoneurology Institute imeni V. M. Bekhterev in which the participants were Honored Scientist and Professor A. Ye. Lichko, the institute's deputy director for science, candidate of medical sciences Yu. V. Popov, Chief Psychotherapist of Leningrad Yu. Ya. Tupitsyn, and Chief Narcologist of the Leningrad Oblast Health Department A. Ya. Grinenko.

[Question] Why is the role of medical psychology so important in the battle against alcoholism and drug addiction?

[Yu. Popov] Alcoholism is a special illness. It is complex in that it is closely tied to the human factor, i.e., a person's attitude toward his own illness, toward his surrounding world, to relatives, colleagues, and friends. A person's way of life, the scope of his interests and ability to judge successes and failures, i.e., everything that we call human objective reality can either be an ally in the battle against an illness or it can exacerbate it. Therefore the task of the psychologist is to help the narcologist-physician, and in some cases, to undertake independent treatment. A psychologist treats by the use of words and appeals to the patient's reason. He persuades the patient to believe in his own capabilities and directs them against the ailment.

There are many hundreds of medical psychologists working in the country. Two hundred of them are in the field of narcology, and 40 of them, or one-fifth, are in Leningrad and the oblast, either in city, oblast, or inter-rayon drug treatment centers. However, there is a shortage of such personnel in the hospitals and narcology offices at industrial enterprises. New personnel must be recruited. But there are only two universities training medical psychologists — the Moscow and Leningrad State Universities, and that is clearly insufficient. The remaining universities graduate regular psychologists who take a minor course in psychiatry but get no training at all in narcology.

[A. Lichko] In order to fill that gap somehow we recently conducted at our institute the first republic-wide seminar "The Medical Psychologist in Narcology." Problems of drug addiction and toxic drug abuse, particularly among teenagers and young people, were broadly reviewed openly for the first time. Until now such topics were "closed" even for specialists. It is no secret that we are now witnessing a unique "boom" in drug addiction that has encompassed various countries. Teenagers are attracted by curiosity and illusions of safety. "I can quit easily. What harm can come from it!" That is absolutely untrue. If drug addiction passes "with age," there still remains a so-called background which could become the basis for the development of alcoholism. Moreover, that could take an even faster and malignant course. In order

to intensify our struggle against this device, we are planning to open soon a department for the treatment of juvenile drug addicts at the Leningrad Drug Treatment Center.

[Question] Clearly, one seminar will not resolve the problem. What kind of radical measures might be undertaken to raise the professional caliber of medical psychologists?

[Yu. Popov] We must arrange permanently operating seminars similar to the monthly seminars of narcologist-physicians. Communication and the exchange of experience are essential. Already medical psychologists working in the field of narcology can actively participate in the activities of the psychotherapy and medical psychology section of the Leningrad Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists. The section is headed by Chief Psychotherapist of the RSFSR Ministry of Health, Professor B. D. Karvasarskiy. We are planning to organize a scientific-practical association which would include the Scientific-Research Psychiatric Institute imeni V. M. Bekhterev and the drug treatment centers.

[Question] What are the principal "strategic," so to speak, elements in the arsenal of medical psychology?

[A. Lichko] In our view, group psychotherapy is very important. Such therapy is designed to create the psychological circumstances for a patient in which he will not drink at all. Helpful in this regard are the temperance clubs, active contact with those who have quit drinking, and summer camps where former patients spend their vacations with their families.

We also involve the patient's family in the battle against this vice. A patient's wife and children must be active helpers to the psychologist. Particular attention must be given to the children. In such families the youngster usually develops a strong negative attitude toward alcohol. With the growth of independence and after his service in the army, "the brakes are released," and he begins to drink. The task of the psychologist is to prevent that craving from developing further.

[Question] Readers have been writing that other methods that exist already are not being used in the assault against this ailment. Why, for example, is the office where the psychotherapist V. A. Savchenko is supposed to be treating patients by the A. R. Dovzhenko method still not operating? The decision of the Main Health Administration of Leningrad to organize this kind of office has not yet been executed because no one seems to be able to resolve the problem about where to locate it. What is it in fact that is impeding the application of that method?

[Yu. Tupitsyn] That psychotherapeutic method is based on pure suggestion. What is the essence of that kind of treatment? Not all patients can be subjected to it. If you have a patient who has an exceptional personality, strong

in character, and inclined to be sarcastic, that method will not produce a lasting effect. On the other hand, the method has, as they say, an astounding effect in persons who are drawn to a strong personality and susceptible to suggestion, i.e., persons with a specific type of nervous system. Hence a great number of readers get the idea that this method is omnipotent. A patient is affected by everything. Both the tactics involved in the special selection of patients and the employment of a prolonged period of so-called "temporizing attention" where the patient waits several weeks for a session as though he is "sustaining himself" while being internally disposed to a meeting. The patient appears to be "coded" and seems to live at the will of the person treating him who forbids the patient to drink, and the patient knows that if he violates the ban, he will not be accepted for further treatment.

[A. Grinenko] Exhausting and painstaking labor on the part of the narcologist and psychotherapist are required to wean a patient from dope, but we are convinced that at the same time the patient must mobilize his own forces within him as well.

All over the world scientists have come to the conclusion that it is not rapid express methods that are required but rather constant contact with the patient, family psychotherapy, and long-term efforts. And when we say these things, we are reproached for our conservatism, our own "zeal," and concern about our position.

I have had occasion to visit the "Dovzhenko School." Of course, what Aleksandr Romanovich is doing is akin to a magic show. Only a person with an artist's talent and strong personality can adopt that method. The stronger the personality, the stronger the power of suggestion. Human attraction to miracles is employed and everything is set up like a miracle. Hence we probably have some misunderstanding about the selection of the proper premises. A simple office is clearly insufficient for that method. But here we have a trained specialist and he should be given the chance to work in his style.

Yes, a decision has been made and it should be executed. Various methods and different approaches should complement each other. As to the elevated claims made for the Dovzhenko method (such reprimands have been sent to the press) it is more likely that the "temporizing attention" position taken by the health supervisors of the city will operate exactly according to the pattern of Doctor Dovzhenko: There will be rumors about the "unrecognized" method and its "persecutors" and passions will be inflamed. Only specific actions can counter that. Once the office is opened in time, the first results will be at hand and the hullabaloo will have died down because there will be no nutrient medium for it to feed on once the work that has been set up has been in progress, even if it is done by an unconventional method. The main thing is that the assault on this social vice must not be halted.

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### Chazov Address to TaSSR Medical Aktiv Draws Trivial Response

18300628a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST

TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 18 Jul 87 pp 1, 3

[Report on speech by Ye.I. Chazov, USSR Minister of Health and member of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting of the Tajik SSR Republic Medical Aktiv, with commentary by Tajik News Agency Observer V. Zhukov: "Progress is Made by the Active Pathfinder"]

[Text] The public health sector is beginning to recover from a prolonged and very dangerous illness. For a long time we didn't even want to notice the ailment's symptoms. But the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee called things by their right names after having diagnosed the illness as a "unique deafness to social problems."

Participants at the last meeting of the republic's medical aktiv with CPSU Central Committee member and USSR Minister of Health Ye. I. Chazov at the Tajik CP Central Committee became convinced that we are now ridding ourselves of that deafness and acquiring if not an absolute, at least a sufficiently perceptible awareness of social problems. The presence of Tajik CP Central Committee Bureau members K. M. Makhkamov, A. D. Dadabayev, P. K. Luchinskiy, A. Kh. Khalimov, Deputy Chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium I. F. Dedov, Deputy Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers U. G. Usmanov, and supervisors from many ministries and departments inspired some hope that problems now recognized by society would ultimately be sufficiently successfully resolved even if not very quickly.

The essence of those problems was defined in the minister's address. "Yes," he said, "the Soviet public health profession has so well safeguarded the health of the Soviet people for 70 years that it had become a unique standard for many countries. The extent to which assistance has been rendered to the public can be judged by such statistics as the fact that 18 million operations are performed in the country annually, and 87 million "first-aid" calls are answered every year.

But still...Time has made its own demands and we can no longer be content with our achievements of yesterday. A number of phenomena have taken place in the sector which have predetermined and "programmed" many disruptions in the health sector. In order to overcome backwardness and in order to assure progress in the development of Soviet medicine, the USSR Ministry of Health has identified four principal areas of restructuring. These include a resolution of long-standing problems in planning and financing, and a fundamentally new approach to the organization of medical services. Also included is the sufficient staffing of the health field with qualified personnel, and finally, the scientific reinforcement of everyday practice."

The minister then explained what progress was being made in the transformation of those areas in the country as a whole. But perhaps the "standard dress" for our republic, i.e., food for thought was offered by the discussion that took place after the minister's address. Let us try to interpret the details of that discussion: Can the republic commence restructuring in all four areas, and do we have the prerequisites to undertake these four steps in an ideal fashion?

### A Foothold

Why the health sector ceased to move ahead vigorously as it had done during the first years of Soviet rule, and why it began to mark time are questions that Ye. I. Chazov explained with exhaustive medical precision. The so-called "residual principle" of financing the sector's needs had taken hold in the country. That is to say that medicine was allotted that portion of the national income which was left after funds had been distributed for economic needs. The "medical share" therefore became smaller year after year. The situation is now changing. The sector will now be financed on a permanent basis. So that by the year 2000 appropriations for the health sector will grow as a percentage of the budget. This will be the fulcrum for transformations. In particular, personnel rearrangements will become possible. The ministry in Moscow will not "hand down" rigid standards for staffing assignments. The republic ministries will independently decide how many physicians, nurses, and attendants any one particular medical institution will require. Each institution, so to speak, according to its needs, but within the limits of the wage fund.

Additional funds diverted to medicine will enable the sector to build better, but not necessarily more facilities. At the present time the standard amount of construction expenditures per hospital bed is 18,000 rubles. According to Ye. I. Chazov that figure should be closer to 52,000 rubles.

There they are, the outlines of the ideal. Did the medical activists in the auditorium find them to be inspiring? By all accounts, one would have to say not very much.

When the time came to discuss the minister's address, it became clear that we are drowning in the details of regulations.

"Why," asked the deputy chief physician of the Dushanbe City Infectious Diseases Hospital No. 2, T. N. Rakhimov, "does the republic's Ministry of Finance establish different food budgets for obstetric hospitals and pregnancy pathology? Surely, they are one in the same!"

"Our republic," she continued, "has a very unique demographic picture. We have the country's highest birth rate. However, that fact is not taken into consideration in the makeup of standard staff levels of obstetricians and gynecologists.

Is this not absurd? Without a doubt. But the minister also spoke about that, after all. Administrative decentralization should eliminate just these kinds of absurdities. The republic ministries will be able to resolve such problems locally, without the participation of the USSR ministry.

Or take another example. The chief physician of the Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon Hospital, S. A. Asoyev, asked whether there would be a positive decision made about the staffing in the family planning office. Family planning is very important for Tajikistan. Ye. I. Chazov reminded us of that and said: "The population must realize," he said, "that after six or seven births, both mother and child suffer. As a rule, children born to older mothers are born prematurely."

That may be so. However, the way the question was put, i.e. will there be sufficient staff personnel, indicates that we are still out of the woods.

### Tajik News Agency Commentary

The conference discovered a somewhat unexpected turn in the problem of restructuring the health sector in the republic. There is the apprehension that after having laid down our tactics in detail, we have lost sight of the strategy.

The minister was talking, for example, about the quantity and quality of medical institution construction. It is in fact this aspect of restructuring the sector that probably should have warranted the greatest amount of lively discussion. After all, 214 medical institutions of the republic are located in makeshift premises. In 240 hospitals, plumbing is supplied only to the procedural rooms. Violations of sanitation and epidemiological regulations have been found in the overwhelming majority of hospitals.

The growth rate of the so-called "hospital bed resources" lags behind the growth rate of the population. We therefore are far behind the national level in the provision of hospitals.

The problem's acuteness might be eased if large, wealthy kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industrial enterprises were to start building hospitals, polyclinics, and rehabilitation centers either independently or on a cooperative basis. Thus far, all of the construction problems are resolved through the resources of the health sector. For example, Tursunzade does not have a modern maternity home. The aluminum plant is building itself a hotel. But there has been no response to requests to redesign the building into a maternity home.

You see, there is a problem and there are ideas to solve the problem. However, neither the problem nor the ideas have been sufficiently aired.



Judging from the address of the minister, "the time to cast stones," i.e., the time of empty negative criticism, has passed. The medical profession now has a foothold. This means the "time to gather stones" has arrived. The time has come to do what was not done yesterday by clarifying the essence of the pivotal areas.

### Right Side Up

Let us admit it. Many of us have not even noticed that in many particulars the health sector has been literally standing on its head. Hospitals were built and people were glad that "now there is room in the hospital for one out of every ten...for one out of every eight...for one out every five persons"...and why did we go into the hospital? We went in to find out what our sickness was.

"The time has come to put an end to that situation," said Ye. I. Chazov in his address with reference to the restructuring of medical services organization. The changes outlined by the ministry should put matters right side up.

Pre-hospital services are of primary importance in the course of treating illnesses. Diagnostic centers could relieve hospitals of much of their workload. Such centers, outfitted with modern equipment and operating in three shifts, could process no fewer than one thousand persons daily. That is to say that in order to have a person's illness diagnosed properly, it is not necessary to place him in a hospital. The financing of polyclinics should not, as is now the case, be based on an obligatory minimum of patient visits. It is paradoxical that in order to pay good wages to its personnel, the supervisors of medical institutions have been trying to attract as many patients as possible. Does that mean that the more patients a hospital has the better is its situation? Here is another fundamental organization nuance: The "quantitative index" loses its decisive significance in the determination of the efficient performance of medical personnel.

Such an approach would make it possible for the district physician's work to be organized differently. "Up to now," said Ye. I. Chazov, "he performs more like a dispatcher who assigns patients to various narrow specialists' offices. But a physician is supposed to treat people. He should primarily be a family physician. And the fewer patients in his district the better. This means that the district physician must be relieved of bureaucratic concerns. "The only document he should have anything to do with," said the minister, "is the patient's medical history."

Will it be possible to reorganize the operation of the republic's medical institutions in this way? The questions asked of the minister by the conference participants left some doubt about this. Nevertheless, there was a predominant confidence in the addresses presented that this would be possible. A most hopeful sign was the fact that there were no dutiful thoughtless remarks in the

various statements made. Rather, there was a dominant constructive approach to the problem of how to devise a system that would firmly consolidate innovation. For example, the republic's deputy minister of social security, A. I. Subbotin, suggested that subdivisions of the Medical Commission for Determination of Disability (VTEK) should be assigned the task of evaluating medical institution performance by applying new criteria, i.e., create expert commissions somewhat like the state acceptance commissions that have been introduced at industrial enterprises. That suggestion is an interesting one. Perhaps it should be discussed in greater detail.

### Tajik News Agency Commentary

But still the problem of organizational transformations as applied to the republic is more complex and extensive than it is in other regions of the country. Indeed, the problem of pre-hospital diagnosis is already close to a practical resolution. A diagnostic center will be built in Dushanbe next year. But one center is not going to make that much of a difference. Approximately one-half of the "hospital bed resources" is located in the rural and rayon hospitals. And the therapeutic-diagnostic equipment available there is practically useless.

The republic has no hospitals for rehabilitation therapy, for pediatric allergy and stomatology patients, or for the compulsory drug treatment of patients with concomitant illnesses.

There is no provision for pre-hospital treatment. For example, 15 percent of the population does not get preventive examinations. Therefore, cancer is often diagnosed so late that no kind of hospitalization can help the patient.

The status of medical services was discussed at the bureau of the Tajik CP Central Committee. The press reported the bureau's findings that the republic's medical services are in bad shape.

But there surely have been enough very promising suggestions. Many republics have cost-accounting medical institutions. They are usually called pay hospitals. There is no doubt that we should have them too. This would help to relieve the acuteness of many problems.

Of course, not all problems would be solved. But in order to complete the job at hand we must start doing something about it, without rejecting out of hand any new ideas even if at first they may seem unconventional.

### The Cadre Resolve Everything

Do you remember that slogan from the one of the first Five-Year Plans? Today, that slogan has perhaps acquired a topical interest of bygone days. In the entire national economy as a whole, and in the health sector in particular. One might even say, especially in the health

sector, but perhaps in a somewhat different interpretation. That is to say, the success of restructuring will be resolved by scientifically trained, highly qualified, and competent specialists.

But the country doesn't have as many physicians of that caliber as we used to think so presumptuously.

"The average competency level of the physician," said Ye. I. Chazov, "does not correspond to contemporary needs. We have somehow managed to forget that a physician must be merciful and that a patient must be tended to, and not simply "enveloped in medical services."

We realize that a physician's incompetence and "unmerciful attitude" stem from his days at the VUZ. Therefore, the Ministry of Health has embarked upon a program of action designed to close the door of medical practice to persons who are not suitable for this kind of activity. And the specialized institutes must help undertake the scientific retraining of medical personnel.

"Science can be a fundamental endeavor," said the minister. "But it also must yield purely practical benefits and it must help to eliminate the gap between fundamental discoveries and therapeutic technology."

The first step in that direction has been taken, i.e., the heretofore existing ban on holding more than one medical practice position simultaneously has been removed. How quickly we take the third — the personnel — and the fourth — the scientific — steps towards the ideal solution will depend on the decisive actions of the local health authorities.

With regard to those points the direction of the envisaged transformations is particularly revolutionary in essence. But are we ready for such a break with established standards?

Not quite. Most of the questions directed to Ye. I. Chazov were concerned with...higher pay.

True, there were a few promising bright spots in the conversation. The chief physician of the Leninbad Oblast Hospital, A. Kh. Khakimov, immediately turned

the discussion into solid practice. He persistently demanded a more rational distribution of available electron technology and the training of specialists to work with that equipment.

It is this kind of practical approach that is surely needed by the republic today.

### **Tajik News Agency Commentary**

The medical personnel situation in the republic can be described as serious. The availability of obstetrician-gynecologists and pediatricians in the republic is one-half of the national standard. Last year there were approximately 3,500 vacant positions at the therapeutic institutions of Tajikistan. Moreover, the medical personnel were unevenly distributed. For example, there is a 40 percent shortage of personnel in the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast whereas there is a 45 percent shortage in the Kulyab Oblast.

The situation in the rural hospitals is worst of all. Last year eight rural dispensaries did not have a single physician on its staff.

Therefore the problem of quality treatment in our republic is not even quantitatively supported.

But we know that good quality treatment can be achieved in our republic. Ye. I. Chazov compared the work of two medical centers in Dushanbe. One was a cardiology unit and the other an oncology one. In the opinion of the minister the first one was performing excellent work. The second, however, could not even sustain the most benevolent criticism. Therefore, it is the personnel themselves who create the proper conditions for good performance.

Yes, we have amassed a great deal of problems and there are no easy ones among them. But let us repeat once more what was said before: In order to complete the job we must start doing something about it. In order to get to our goal we must start on the road. Only the pathfinder will reach his target.

## Latvian CC Party Secretary Calls for 'Honest'

### Look at History

18000799h Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian

19 Jul 87 pp 1,2

[Article by A. V. Gorbunov, secretary of the Latvian CC Central Committee: "Continuation of the Revolution"]

[Text] Nearly a half century has passed since the crimson banner of the revolution rose again over the Amber Sea. Most of those who voted at the historic 21 July 1940 session of the People's Saeima for the restoration of the Soviet regime in Latvia are no longer among us. Each of them had his own destiny. But the decision that they adopted at the time predetermined our common destiny and has had a decisive influence on our whole life and our present day. On the basis of the free expression of the people's will, Latvia became a Soviet republic, and now all of it—from Liepaja to Zilupe, from Meitene to Valga—is preparing to celebrate the 47th anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet regime.

On the eve of the holiday it is customary to survey the path that has been traversed and speak about frontiers that have been reached. But these notes were conceived not as a traditional report article, although the next anniversary date is quite close, and many figures and facts persuasively attest to the rapid growth of the republic's industrial might, scientific potential and level of education and of the qualities associated with membership in the intelligentsia, and the authentic flourishing of the republic's national culture in recent decades. Today I would like to reflect on the dialectics of the revolutionary process and the continuity of the generations and of our struggle.

The achievements of Soviet Latvia in various spheres of life give our people every grounds for pride. However, we know very well that these successes were won in a hard struggle. In the history of the Latvian people there have not been only sunny days.

The 1940 socialist revolution in Latvia was the direct continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is no accident that in the year of the 70th anniversary of October we are going deeper into the basis of the tremendous social changes and analyzing all the interconnections, causes and effects and, from this standpoint, evaluating our present.

The present restructuring in Soviet society is the continuation of the revolution and, at the same time, a return to those of its sources that were forgotten or compromised in the years in which we deviated from Leninist thought. To continue the revolution means first and foremost to give their due to those who fought for it without sparing their very lives.

The Latvian people can take pride in the fact that its best sons and daughters were always in the first ranks of fighters for the revolution. This May we observed with

genuinely patriotic enthusiasm the 70th anniversary of the heroic path of the Latvian Red Riflemen—the holiday of the revolutionary rebirth of the Latvian people. We hold sacred the memory of all of Lenin's comrades-in-arms. Recently the 110th anniversary of the birthday of [Ya. Fabritsius] was marked. Soon we will bow our heads to honor the memory of Ya. Rudzutak, in honor of his 100th birthday. Our newspapers, radio and television, telling about Great October in the present anniversary year, are devoting a great deal of attention to people whose destinies we have inherited and whose struggle we are presently continuing. A great deal is being said and written throughout the Soviet Union about outstanding representatives of the Latvian people, and we in turn highly value and honor the sons of other peoples who took part in the revolutionary struggle and fought for the liberation of Soviet Latvia.

A Russian folk saying states that you can't throw the words out of a song. Today we must honestly look the past in the eye, in order to be more confident of the future. And the past did not spoil us.

The first year of the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia was seething and joyous, but by no means unclouded. It was the year of new, untraveled roads and difficult explorations, a time of diverse and profound social transformations. Because of an objectively determined class restrictiveness and because of its own egoism, a small but politically organized part of the population that had recently belonged to the ruling national bourgeoisie could not and did not want to understand the elementary truth that the historical choice made by the people in the summer of 1940 was the only path to the salvation of Latvia and preservation of the Latvian nation and its further development.

The first transformations took place under conditions in which those from whom political power and economic domination had been taken and who for this reason did not like the new system bitterly resisted, calling on the most reactionary forces for help, just so their hour would come again. And when dark clouds started to gather on the international horizon, they seemed like the finger of God to the enemies of the people's regime. The former land and property owners, the Aizsargs ["Sentinels"] and officers of the bourgeois army, members of nationalistic associations, and paid Nazi agents pinned all their hopes for the future on war. They waited for an attack by fascist Germany, which would supposedly allow them to settle scores with the people's regime, the proletariat and the progressive intelligentsia, with those who had recently become the rightful masters of their land.

In seriously studying the materials and documents of that time and relying on the eyewitness accounts of people of the older generation, one can confidently draw the conclusion: Soviet Latvia was not created by one decision and not created in one day. The first year following the restoration of Soviet power in the republic



tant historical stage, but at the same time one that was contradictory and filled with processes and phenomena that not everyone understood. Now, relying on great historical and political experience, one may more precisely draw the conclusion that the complexities of the social situation at that time in the republic were in many respects determined by the difficult breathing of the coming war, the coming of a terrible hour for all humanity, and violations of the socialist rule of law that were characteristic of the personality cult.

All this left its imprint on both the everyday life of the young republic and on certain preventive measures, dictated by the class struggle, that the government agencies took in order to prevent hostile actions planned by the fascist fifth column against the Red Army and the republic's population. This is also our history, which belongs to us, to those who live and work in Latvia and those who, under the conditions of today's democratization of society, are honestly evaluating their past, realizing the absolute necessity of this precautionary measure and at the same time recognizing the mistakes that were made—after all some of those who suffered were innocent people who were loyal to the new system, while many from the fascist fifth column managed to hide in order to begin their subversive activities, with the Hitlerites' blessing, in the very first hours of the war. Blinded by class and nationalist hatred, the traitors attacked thousands of absolutely innocent unarmed people, killing women, children and old people.

Those years and the events of those days are now in the past. But let us not forget that after a storm the edges of the sky often blaze for a long time with reflections of the storm that has passed. In my view, we have grown accustomed to oversimplifying a great deal in our propaganda work, and we sometimes portray the ideological struggle as a struggle against an abstract imperialism and an abstract bourgeoisie. Unquestionably, every Soviet person should profoundly understand the essence of capitalism—the exploitation of man by man—and recognize the reasons for the militaristic policies of the United States and the other imperialist states. However, you will agree that our people do not run into capitalists on the streets. Therefore, for many people an interest in these problems recedes into the background. But the political fighter, the communist, grows only in the struggle against a specific ideological adversary, his specific concept and actions. And don't we encounter those? Most likely we do, only we do not bother ourselves to look into them, believing that our adversaries are not numerous and their views imprecise or absurd.

We fail to pay attention to a great deal, since even bourgeois ideologists are forced to admit that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is impossible, since the majority of the people would not accept it, even if the possibility arose of imposing it from without. Here I am thinking about a different sort of ideological adversaries. Should we not view as adversaries those

formed in Moscow, about which a great deal has already been written in our central press?

They are turning into our adversaries, failing to recognize that that group and its aktiv are trying to capitalize on Soviet people's natural concern for the fate of cultural monuments and historical relics and to channel these feelings into anti-Semitism and religious fanaticism. After all, a person may initially believe naively in a lofty goal and then become indiscriminating in his choice of the means for achieving it and, what is most frightening of all, may even fall into fascism in his naive enthusiasm. One of that group's activists organized a lecture in Riga that the audience, while not endorsing, did not reject. Obviously, those who heard it fell under the hypnosis of eloquent words about the homeland, folk culture and real shortcomings in the business of preserving it.

But can it be that we are supposed to justify ourselves before our adversaries? Do they possibly believe that we are incapable of restoring health to our own life and protecting it with criticism and self-criticism? The appearance on the screen of films by our directors with an incisive public-affairs thrust, the publication of "forgotten" novels, public-affairs writing by our writers, the denunciation of Stalinism, and the honest filling in of the "blank spots" in our history—all these phenomena of recent years are the products of our mind and talent and, of course, these facts distress our enemies, since they would like for us to be undemocratic, suppressed and uncritical of ourselves.

Our enemies do not want a socialism of freedom and economic prosperity. Every accomplishment of ours in the humanitarian or economic sphere reduces the prestige of capitalism in people's eyes. Therefore, our ideological adversaries abroad, recovering from the shock into which the processes taking place in the USSR have thrown them, are changing their methods and trying to capitalize on the dissident views of certain people.

Some people may have heard that here in Latvia an extremist nationalistic group has sprung up that arrogantly, with no grounds whatsoever, has arrogated to itself the title "Helsinki-86." It would not even be worth speaking seriously about it, since the group consists of only three or four people, and one of them, a 21-year-old worker, dreams of nothing but emigrating, about which he has even written a statement. But when the authorization to leave was issued, anti-Soviet voices immediately reported that "a fighter for liberty is being forcibly expelled from the country."

This group, in essence, is stewing in its own juices, but Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America have for more than six months now been meticulously "informing" about its "activities," its "program," and its alleged influence on the republic's inhabitants, just so as to lure higher honorariums. Having armed themselves with problems in standards of internationality relations,

such instance, large and small, these activists "demand" nothing more and nothing less than the return to Latvia of its 1938 status (i.e., a dictatorial regime). Primitive? Of course, it is primitive to the utmost, but that is from the viewpoint of a person who has at least some education. But what, say, can a teenager know about the Ulmanis regime in 1938, when his parents themselves were born after the Great Patriotic War? However, the foreign radio voices importunately report how good things allegedly were in "independent" Latvia: no problems, practically heaven on earth. Some schoolchild finds somewhere in the attic a dusty collection of Ulmanis's speeches. Aha! It agrees with what is being broadcast "from over there." And the schematic and uninteresting exposition of material on prewar Latvia in the school textbook leaves a weak impression on teenagers' minds.

It is necessary to bring the true picture of life in bourgeois Latvia to young people in a persuasive fashion, using real facts and accurate figures as examples. This is a concrete and urgent task for historians, writers, journalists, educators, lecturers, propagandists and all of us. And the truthful picture of those times is the following: thousands of political prisoners behind prison bars and in the stone quarries of Kaltsiems, underground party and Komsomol organizations everywhere, for 20 years *Cina* was published illegally, lines of unemployed standing at the labor exchange. The regime excelled in preaching nationalism, which was done so primitively that today the Latvian who truly has the qualities of a member of the intelligentsia finds it simply incomprehensible how such vapid phrases and impoverished ideals could be born among our talented people. Yet there were also achievements of progressive literature and art, and the creative works of outstanding poets and artists, musicians and directors were the embodiment of the people's civic-mindedness; these artists by no means served the regime of sausage-makers; they served the people and the future of national culture. There were also certain successes in agriculture in the '30s. It is necessary to speak the truth, to say what actually existed.

This year's anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet regime in Latvia, like all the preceding ones, is a state holiday for Latvia, a holiday of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. And only those who would like to wipe our whole country off the world map merely in order to get some sort of money for this lie from their bosses and protectors can speak about the liquidation of statehood in Latvia in the summer of 1940. In reality, statehood in Latvia was strengthened in the summer of 1940 as never before in history: the republic became an inseparable part of the mighty state formation—the USSR.

It is no less important to understand in depth the events of the subsequent period—following 22 June 1941 War and death destroy everything—everything but memory.

fascist occupation it was Latvia that acquired the dark fame of being the European country where more innocent people were killed per capita than in any other. We have no right to forget the blood that was shed by hundreds of thousands of fascism's victims.

In the name of honesty and truthfulness, which are now becoming our reliable fellow travelers, it is necessary to recognize even more clearly the fact, which has long been known, that Latvians fought on both sides of the front. Yes, on one side fought the Latvian guards, partisans and members of the underground, while on the other fought the Latvian legionaires. The leaders of the foreign reactionary emigration and the hostile radio voices continue to proclaim the version of these events invented by the Nazis, claiming that the brutal reprisals against hundreds of thousands of innocent people that the Latvian nationalists carried out in Latvia, and the bloody orgies of the Latvian volunteer police battalions in Belorussia were nothing but "revenge for the offenses of the Stalinist time." This is a brazen, terrible lie. The sentencing to life imprisonment of the Nazi criminal V. Arais in the FRG (Warsaw remembers his crimes to this day) and the steps taken by US judicial bodies to extradite the Estonian fascist Karl Linna to the Soviet Union demonstrate once again how sharply not just international public opinion but even bourgeois democratic governments have been compelled to reject this lie. And it is no accident. The Nazis' crimes, which cannot be erased from the people's memory, were conceived and worked out in all their details in Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" long before the restoration of the Soviet regime in Latvia.

The hour of reprisal for crimes is behind us, and our pain is receding into the past. And every person, regardless of which side of the front he fought on, enjoys identical social privileges and civil rights today in Soviet society. But the moral right to judge the past and appraise it cannot be the same for everyone. The former legionaire, who has the Volkhov swamps behind him, has one approach to evaluating events, and the pensioner who joined the partisans upon getting his notice of mobilization into the fascist army has an entirely different one. And we have no doubts as to who should be believed more and who should be called a "Latvian warrior."

I often think about what fate would have befallen the Latvian people after the bourgeois nationalists, having carried out their black deed, had become unnecessary to the Hitlerite Gebietskommissars. After all, the fascists' watchword was unequivocal—Ostland—and their motto was firm—Germanization. And you can be sure that they would have carried them out with typical Nazi punctuality, purging the entire Baltic region of the indigenous population in order to obtain lebensraum for the German colonizers, the millions of German farmers to whom Hitler had promised Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Zemgale. That did not happen. But it was not the

And we take pride in the fact that Latvian soldiers, partisans and members of the underground made their contribution to this heroic martial exploit. We remember very well how until the very last days of the war, when the Victory Banner was already flying over Berlin, the Wehrmacht literally clung by its teeth to Kurzeme, which it had long considered historically German land.

The past—why do we return to it again and again? But who else has a right to do so? Not those who have long since deprived themselves of it, who have nothing in common with Soviet Latvia, who merely try to capitalize on our old disorders and present difficulties in order to earn themselves petty political capital abroad. We should not give them such pleasure, must not leave a single "blank spot" in our history. Let us not allow that which it is still hard for us to speak of today to be misinterpreted. But we will speak, disavowing nothing. Our people's history did not come to a halt either during the years of bourgeois Latvia, during the period of the Ulmanis dictatorship, or during the years of the fascist occupation. The progressive and democratic tendency whose foundation was laid by the Mladolatyshy [Young Latvians] and Novotechentsy, the first Latvian Marxists—V. I. Lenin's faithful comrades-in-arms, the heroes of 1905, the Latvian Red Riflemen—the members of the underground in the '20s and '30s, and the national intelligentsia continued to live. People of various generations left us in legacy the most valuable thing—faith in a better future, industriousness, honesty, social values, and the ideas of humanism, internationalism and national awareness. That is the extremely rich legacy that has helped us build Soviet Latvia the way it is today, with its indisputable successes and, simultaneously, many problems.

Today, along with Latvians, all the inhabitants of our republic share our pride in our accomplishments, as well as our concern for all that has not been done. Many generations of Russians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Jews, Poles and people of other nationalities have made their contribution to its development. Our capital Riga, thanks to its geographical location, has historically always been an international city. Therefore, I want to stress one more time that today's Soviet Latvia is our common pride and concern.

But there is something else that we do not forget, either. We are warmed and provided with energy not just by Dashava gas, Tyumen and Bashkir oil, Kazakhstan and Ukrainian bituminous coal, and cotton from the fields of Central Asia, but also by the warmth of the hearts of the peoples of all the country's fraternal republics. We have been repeatedly persuaded of this, and this has been demonstrated again by the current Days of Latvian Culture in Kirov Oblast and the Gorny Altai.

common goals, spare neither spiritual energy nor material means to accomplish them.

In his article published in a recent joint issue of *Cina* with Pskov, Vitebsk and Smolensk oblast newspapers, the People's Poet Imant Ziedonis writes: "Only that society which takes less and gives more is alive. The society, the people, and the person who gives more ensure themselves the right to development. They have a guarantee of the future."

The concern that unhealthy attitudes among a small number of young people cause us is due only to a sincere and profound desire that the young generation not only recognize but itself enrich our progressive legacy, and not waste itself, for cheap pleasures, in the pursuit of things and in the mire of national restrictiveness. I do not doubt but what young people will be more intelligent and better than us, and that they will be more courageous than us. Young people will be genuine pioneers in the search of what is new, will continue revolutionary traditions, and will carry our ideals further.

But ideological conviction will not come of its own accord to today's and tomorrow's generations. Under the conditions of openness and democratization, the role of every communist as an ideological fighter is changing fundamentally. We must first of all to rid ourselves of indifference since the indifferent communist cannot ensure the party's guiding role and be an authority for his fellow workers and, especially, for young people. It is impossible to divide issues into "important" and "unimportant," since everything that concerns people is important. Today we must learn to hear out various viewpoints. The words "may" and "must not," "correct" and "incorrect" are no longer suitable as arguments in discussions. Granted, sometimes it is not easy to boldly and objectively express one's opinion, when passions are seething around one, and it is also possible to make mistakes. But what should be feared is something else—in the heat of polemics, to cease to be objective. We must learn the art of relying only on tested facts, of not just rejecting unacceptable views but of changing people's minds so that they themselves abandon them. We must learn and learn again. We should work to master Leninist methodology in the approach to problems and argumentation. We must work to grasp Lenin's books. Today he is especially essential to us.

In the final analysis it is the results of our work that will attest to the advantages of our socioeconomic system, pluses and minuses in the process of restructuring, and the continuation of the revolution. In all spheres—economic, social and spiritual. People will judge the usefulness of democracy and openness not by the heat of polemics, their sensationalism and noisiness, but by the activeness of creative thought on the wave of which we



will work better. The end result of our efforts—the acceleration of economic, social and spiritual development—is the only goal of our present-day social activity and the criterion of its usefulness. I want to stress this especially, since nowadays the castigation of negative phenomena and the condemnation of old mistakes still sometimes obscures that in the name of which all this is being done and the prospects that are opening up; sometimes it is not even clear what the positive program of the critic himself is. We do not always and everywhere recognize the diversity of the forms of democratization and its full depth.

Democratic principles in election of the executives of public organizations and enterprises and people's deputies, whereby several nominated candidates are discussed and subsequently voted on, are already being fairly widely adopted in practice. But this is only one of many forms of democracy. Why are meetings in labor collectives and in their councils still held without sufficient activeness? Obviously it is necessary to explain more seriously to people the diversity of the manifestations of democracy and the close link between its forms and legislative activity, and the possibility of implementing it only in an atmosphere marked by a high degree of organization, discipline and order. We still do not know how to formulate the ultimate goal in every specific case in order to select one of a number of alternatives through democratic discussion. The new Law on the State Enterprise (Association) opens up great opportunities to decide all questions—from the confirmation of the plan to the distribution of profits—on a democratic basis.

But are we ready for such a democratization of production? Not yet. The working people have not yet felt a return on their initiative, and they lack sufficient economic knowledge to make constructive proposals. In this situation the economic education of the masses occupies a special place—the amount of explanatory work here is tremendous. We must not rely solely on propagandists in this area. Under present conditions every specialist must become a propagandist. The CPSU Central Committee's draft "Basic Guidelines for Restructuring the System of the Working People's Political and Economic Studies" provides rich possibilities to choose both the form and the content of instruction that are most suitable in specific circumstances. The republic's economists should cease complaining about the weak level of economic knowledge and undertake to improve it, becoming both propagandists of economic knowledge and organizers of studies. Only by possessing knowledge and understanding of the situation can every working person become a proprietor at his enterprise, in his shop or section, and at every work station.

One can note with satisfaction that all this is provided for us by the well-fashioned ideological platform of restructuring created by the CPSU Central Committee's January and June plenums. The plenums' decisions contain our ideas, as well, since before adopting them the party turned for advice to the broad masses of working

people. And there is no doubt that the entire Soviet people endorses restructuring. But endorsement and sympathy are not enough now. We must work and struggle to implement what has been planned. Only profound restructuring in the economy that is based on a higher level of economic knowledge will make it possible to achieve acceleration in the social and spiritual spheres. But all that should take place in a comprehensive fashion, be interconnected, and take goals and prospects into account. Awareness of revolutionary history and tradition and the development of the standards of internationality intercourse will also play a great role. Ethics and aesthetics. Logic and emotions. The combination of work and leisure. The appraisal of the past, and plans for the future. A merger of modern design and symbols that are long rooted in the consciousness.

Lately a great deal has been said about the symbols that have been inherited from the past and the traditions associated with them. Mention is frequently made of the fraternal cemeteries in Riga, Valmiera, Cesis, Liepaja and other cities. In creating them the architects and sculptors were able in allegorical images not only to memorialize the courage of those who had fallen but also to create harmonious complexes where sociopolitical activities are now held. The same sort of importance has been assumed by the monuments to V. I. Lenin in almost all of Latvia's cities; the monument to P. Stucka on Pioneers Plaza in Riga; the panorama of the Daugava embankment with monuments to the Latvian Red Riflemen and to the heroes of 1905, church spires, the medieval castle, corners of Old Riga, and gardens and side streets in the "Jugend style"; Audrini, not far from Rezekne; the Friendship burial mound at the juncture of three republics; Salaspils—one could name dozens of other places that move the hearts of every inhabitant of our republic.

However, let us honestly admit that not all activities conducted at these monument spots leave an impression, and not all possibilities for improving traditions have been exhausted. Moments in memory of the riflemen at the Fraternal Cemetery in Riga this year showed what potential this memorial has and the heights of emotional experience that can be reached by bringing the whole republic to it with the help of television. Better use must be made of the memorial to the Latvian Red Riflemen and the monument to the republic's liberators.

In the very center of Riga, drawing the attention of Riga's inhabitants and guests, stands the Freedom monument created in the '30s by the sculptor Karlis Zale and the architect Ernest Shtalberg. The adornment and pride of the city. It is a bitter irony that it was unveiled by those who under cover of night on 15 May 1934, with the help of the Aizsargs' bayonets, eliminated parliamentary government in Latvia and, consequently, the freedom and democracy that were possible within the framework of the bourgeois state. There is no need to try to demonstrate that such coups are rejected not only by communists but by other political parties in Europe and

throughout the world. The Ulmanis coup is unpopular now even among members of the emigration who have the least bit of political education. Thus, it is not Ulmanis and his political apparatus but the people, the Latvian people, who are the genuine heirs of their Freedom monument.

It was unveiled by those who then, in 1935, were in power and were trying to assert their craving for domination and their desire to perpetuate the state of affairs in which the rich had freedom to be rich, educated, healthy and happy and the poor had the "freedom" to get by any way they could. But a genuine work of art, such as the ensemble created by K. Zale indisputably is, cannot serve to illustrate such an idea. As a true patriot, the talented sculptor portrayed in that monument the heroism and grandeur of the people and created a sculptural composition based on Latvian folklore and the actual historical facts of the people's struggle for social liberation and national self-determination.

These ideals are embodied in Soviet Latvia, and that is what determines the monument's fitting place in the republic's political and cultural life. It was recently restored, and with its monumentality and fortunate location on the crossroads of Lenin Street and Rainis Boulevard, it draws people as a center of mass popular celebrations and activities. This monument will also remind subsequent generations of that difficult and heroic path that our people has traversed and is following into the future. Let it welcome all who feel good intentions and who come here with open hearts! And let the flowers that the white-haired veterans and young Pioneers, and everyone to whom the Fatherland and Freedom, the Friendship of Peoples and the Motherland are dear bring to its base never wilt.

The Freedom monument is watered by the people's sweat, and the people rightfully gathers around it for holidays. The sculptor Karlis Zale, as a participant in the implementation of Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda, embodied in the monument the idea of the sort of continuation of the Revolution that is spiritually kindred with the present time. Let us recall the historical moment: on 15 October 1944 the Latvian guards, who together with the soldiers of all the country's fraternal peoples had shed their blood in the fight against a common enemy, in entering liberated Riga, lay flowers at the monument to the people's freedom. And symbolically these flowers there have never wilted and never will. After all, they attest to the fact that in actuality Latvia's national independence, the Latvian nation's salvation from its historical degradation and destruction were guaranteed and are guaranteed not by a German province once called Ostland but by the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has existed for 47 years now and is proud of its successes.

Today we look with tremendous interest at photographs of the events of June and July 1940. Demonstrations of thousands of working people on Riga's streets, freed

political prisoners at the Central Prison, the hands of the deputies to the People's Saeima raised to vote in the crowded theater hall. Look more closely: how much pride, hope and energy there is on those faces. And that is their behest to us! They have left it to us to continue the Revolution. They already knew then that it would not be easy. But we are not seeking indulgences, since we are forging a new path. The new round in the revolution's development carries with it new thinking, a new way of action, and a higher morality.

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### Youths Demonstrate in Estonia Against Phosphate Mining

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3 Jun 87 p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA staff correspondent G. Guskov, under rubric "Sessions of Union-Republic Supreme Soviets": "Estonian SSR"]

[Text] Tallinn—It has been a long time since the arches of the meeting hall of the ESSR Supreme Soviet in Toompea have heard such words: We watched for too long while initiative, personal risk and responsibility in our economy were replaced by a collegial cautiousness, and the sense of responsibility and shame for poorly done work was lost. The report of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers was being discussed at the session.

Last year brought a revival to all spheres of the republic's life, B. Saul, chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, noted in his report. But the tasks of restructuring require fundamental changes. This is why deputies P. Panfilov, R. Kirs, R. Kaidla and others spoke first and foremost about unrealized possibilities.

What must be done promptly and how? A collective reply to this is what the deputies tried to find at the session and at meetings of the republic Supreme Soviet's four standing committees that preceded it.

An experiment has been begun in the area of pay. The number of managerial personnel at enterprises and in institutions and organizations was reduced last year by 1,600 people. With the establishment in the republic of 162 cooperatives and the development of individual enterprise, new paths have been opened up for expanding the production of consumer goods and paid consumer services.

Inquiries evoked more heated, interested discussion from deputies. This time there were three of them: concerning the development of the Rakvere phosphate deposit, the development of the pharmacy system, and increasing the contribution of the Engine Plant to the development of Tallinn's infrastructure.

The birth of Deputy S. Talling's "phosphate" inquiry is instructive in this regard. This spring rumors spread across the republic concerning the great damage that the working of the Rakvere phosphate deposit would cause to the whole northeast zone. Heated discussions went on at universities and institutes and in public organizations. At the beginning of May a demonstration by a group of young people, at which people wore yellow t-shirts with the inscription, "Phosphates Are Not Bread," was even held at the Toompea.

In answering the inquiry, I. Toome, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, reported: a government commission has been appointed for the comprehensive study of the problem of using the phosphate deposits; if research shows that mining would cause undesirable ecological and socioeconomic consequences, the government will not give consent to the working of the phosphates.

It was noted at the session that the Presidium of Estonia's Council of Ministers has begun to hold information hours at which members of the government and representatives of departments tell journalists about decisions that have been taken and provide all the necessary information regarding issues of interest to the public. Press conferences of members of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers are being held, as are meetings with members at labor collectives. This work received a high appraisal in the speeches of deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet.

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